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Political Affairs

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Roundtable on USSR Entry, Exit Draft Law

90UN1642A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Apr 90
p 3

[Roundtable hosted by Elrad Parkhomovskiy: "IZVESTIYA Roundtable: Accessible and Unaccessible Abroad"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet, at its current session, will hear the second reading the draft law on the order of exit and entry to our country by Soviet citizens. At its first reading, the law passed 368 vs. 5, with 10 abstentions. Apparently this score reflects the mood of Soviet society. But voices of caution have also been heard. Are we not rushing too much? Are there no other, much more pressing problems in the life of our people? Many barely manage to live to the next payday. What dough—pardon my expression—will our citizens travel with? And what about the primitive state of our customs service and the limitations imposed by this? And the more than modest capacity of our OVIRs [Departments of Visas and Permits], which already have long lines. One fears to compromise in practice the new beautiful principles. Would it not be better to wait until perestroika scores complete economic victory? After all, we have waited longer than that. Why run ahead of our real capabilities?

Who Needs It?

"If we wait till our capabilities catch up with our needs in this area," said Yu.Reshetov, chairman of the Department for Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights of the USSR MID, "we will remain at standstill for a long time. The right to leave the country is a basic human right. Those who do not have it can only conditionally be seen as a free people. Even if they have never thought of traveling. Are we too hasty with this business? I do not think so. Do we have other important problems? Of course we do. Such is our shortage-plagued life, unfortunately, that we do everything only when compelled by dire need. At this stage, such a need is to restore civic dignity to the Soviet man, and to convince him that he indeed lives in a law-based state, and not in a guarded zone. Even though no country can be interested in encouraging emigration, the very possibility of it is the reason to assess soberly the state of affairs and the need to improve it. Love can not be forced. But we are speaking not only, and not so much, of emigration; freedom to travel covers private trips and temporary stays for work, treatment and study."

How Many Passengers Will There Be?

"In the past 3 years, the number of our citizens traveling abroad has risen 20 times and reached 2.5 million in 1989," said A.Luzinovich, deputy director of the Administration of Visas and Permits of the USSR MVD. "We calculate that in the first year after the new law comes into effect there will be 7 or 8 million of those who will want to travel for a temporary stay abroad, and 500,000-600,000 others will emigrate permanently. In the future, we expect the growth of the stream of travelers for

temporary visits to rise to 25-30 million a year. We have tried to simplify considerably, and thus make cheaper, the procedure for taking the trip. The number of questions on the application form has been reduced to five. It now takes only 5 minutes to invite a guest from an Eastern European country. As to exiting, getting permission now often takes 20 or 30 days. To apply and get their documents, people often wait on long lines. Why? We currently need 3,500 additional workers in this country, more space in the capital and locally and computer equipment. Some people may be scared of such requirements and expenses. Yet, they will certainly turn into profits. The more we travel, the more people will come to us. And this means the inflow of foreign currency."

The Plane Is a Good Thing!

Okay, let us assume that we have our passport in hand, we need no invitation to make the trip (unless the country which we want to visit requires one), and it is time to think of the airplane ticket. No one stops us from thinking about it, of course. One can think of it as much as one wants, but will this thinking lead to the desired ticket? We have heard much about difficulties with transportation when one travels abroad. We know that ticket offices crawl with bribe takers. The surcharge that they levy on travelers is growing all the time. Could we not benefit from meeting V.Tkachenko, deputy director of the international commercial department of the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation, who came to this meeting at the newspaper:

"If you want an honest answer," said V.Tkachenko, "I am one of those who think that we are not yet ready for mass travel abroad. We have few airplanes, of which half are grounded without engines, and fuel is in short supply. We also have miserable facilities for agencies. Even in Moscow we can not make the city soviet to act on its own decision."

[Question] Well, Vasilii Antonovich, it would have been better to prepare in advance. But we can not stop the natural flow of events in order to absolve the Moscow and other city ispolkoms of the responsibility of providing you with space, and the Ministry of Air Transportation Industry of the need to increase the fleet of planes with motors. Of course, the wait at ticket windows that lasts many months is our shame. At the same time, it is our hope, too. Under pressure from these lines, your problems will be solved faster. Recently, someone calculated that if Aeroflot leased in the West five Airbuses "A-310" for its foreign routes, then... But if there had been no lines and none of those shortages, this issue would hardly have been raised.

[Tkachenko] Naturally, unsatisfied demand has played a role here. Starting in May of this year, the number of weekly flights to the United States will increase from 5 to 15. Next year we are planning 20 weekly flights from Moscow and 20 from other cities. Financially, it is rather hard for us. Yet, as you can see, it can be done.

[Question] There is a rumor that you are going to sell tickets to Soviet citizens only for hard currency.

[Tkachenko] It is false. Only the flight Moscow-New York on a Boeing, which we operate jointly with a partner, is subject to such charges. On other Aeroflot flights, on any route, no Soviet citizen has been required, or will ever be required, to pay hard currency. We intend to raise the flow of hard currency at the expense of foreigners. Additional investments in this area will bring additional revenues.

[Question] May I ask you a tactless question? How much does a ticket cost for the flight Moscow-New York without waiting in line?

[Tkachenko] According to our unofficial data, it all depends on your geographic location. In Armenia, it costs R1,500, while at our Central Agency, R600. In Sheremetyevo it costs R1,500, too. But as the saying goes, if you aren't caught, you are not a thief. It is hard to catch people in such operations.

"I confirm this," said V.Yegorov, director of the main internal affairs administration for transport, "but with some corrections. In Moscow, the surcharge amounts to R2,000-R3,000. We catch many such thieves. The courts punish them to the full extent of the law. But you understand that the higher the stakes the steeper the price. This is a vicious circle, and it can not be broken until we put an end to shortages. Our difficulties in this area are compounded by the fact that a ticket vendor is not an official and cannot be charged with bribe solicitation. We need help from legislators. The same applies, incidentally, to railway tickets. The tariffs are somewhat different there, but the number of abuses is growing.

A Train Is a Good Thing, Too.

Let us hear from V.Shatayev, director of the main administration of passenger transport of the USSR Ministry of Railroad Transport:

"Intourist" currently handles the sale of railroad tickets for foreign travel. But, naturally, we must not speak of shortages of tickets but of shortages of places. This is our problem. To increase the number of places to meet demand, we will need 5-6 years and R1 billion, of which half must be in convertible currencies. I think that we should first create the necessary conditions and then pass the law."

But Yu.Reshetov did not agree with such sequence of events:

"If we are to cite objective difficulties all the time, we will forever remain stagnant. This applies to human rights, to industry and to agriculture in equal measure. Any passivity can be explained away objectively. As is well known, a great purpose always engenders great energy. We must try to emulate the leaders. Benefits from this will be impossible to calculate, even on the most powerful computer. Once we recognize the basic

rights of man, we will get new opportunities in international trade and get rid of restrictions on the use of modern Western technology. Let us not forget another issue: everybody who travels abroad broadens his understanding of the experience of world civilization and raises the level of his general and professional culture. We have paid dearly for the 70 years of isolation."

[V.Shatayev] Well, following the leader must be done on a general scale. If we do it separately, ministry by ministry, it will end in failure. To coordinate this process, we will probably need an interagency government council. It will have to pass a coordinated program for implementing the new law. Railroads are ready to participate actively.

A Ship Is a Good Thing, Too.

And what about a ship? Of course, it is a little old-fashioned nowadays. Slow, too. People now vacation on boats. No businessman, however eccentric, will want to go from here to London, New York or Sydney by sea. But if he has to wait for a seat on a flight for nearly a year, he may venture on a voyage. For this, he will need a ship, to start with. However, L.Paladich, deputy director of the main sea lines administration of the USSR Ministry of Sea Fleet, said that this is one thing we more or less lack. We have not created a domestic ship building industry capable of building passenger boats. Unlike space craft, we must purchase passenger craft abroad. We have few passenger lines. We have 2 on the Baltic, 3 on the Black Sea and 3 on the Far East. Recently, the ministry board has discussed closing the Far East lines because the ships are being decommissioned. There will be no new lines in the near future. They have felt none of the great pressure airline and rail workers have. There have been requests to open lines to New York and Montreal, but there are no ships.

Speaking of international sea lines, we must not think of ships alone. What about terminals? Or manning entry points? Or customs? Everything must be done at a highly professional level. So that passengers want to take a boat. In short, as you see, a boat is also a good thing.

But Hard Currency Is Best

There would be no problems with planes, trains or ships if our citizens had hard currency to pay for their trips.

V.Draganov, deputy director of the main administration of state customs controls of the USSR Council of Ministers, joined in the conversation:

"The law on exit will not be practical if we do not change our currency laws drastically. Today they are a massive drag. Because a contradiction arises between the ability to earn money abroad legally and to bring it home on the one hand, and the inability to spend it on the other. Look what happens. The currency law has numerous hedges. One can bring the currency one earns into the country, but not take it out again after one year. This is a draconian law. We have no hard currency stores. There

is only the black market which thrives on this. We must take the step of legalizing currency operations. State monopoly must end in this area, too. So that hard currency could be spent here, at home, in our country. To pay for trips abroad, for instance. We would like to democratize customs procedures related to hard currency. Let everybody earn hard currency and bring it in openly and register it. And let them also pay a tax, which should be set at a level that encourages such activities."

Here, we must interrupt V.Draganov and hear from **Yu.Lobov, director of the contractual and legal subdepartment of the USSR Ministry of Finance general currency and economic department:**

"Unfortunately, there is no hope that we will soon liberalize the order of exchanging hard currency for citizens traveling abroad. Today, we can not even assist a scientist who wants to participate in a symposium abroad. In capitalist countries, the entry fee for such participants is R500. One would think that this is nothing for a state. But when there are hundreds and thousands of those who want to do it, it gets to be a problem. We support the draft law because it is humanitarian and in line with international principles. But our strict currency laws are not the result of our wealth, rather the other way around, and the interests of individual must be measured against the interests of state."

[Reshetov] The currency situation is indeed complex, but I did not hear in what respected Yuriy Nikolayevich has just said any desire to use the law under consideration to earn hard currency. Using the very same method mentioned by V.Draganov. What keeps the Ministry of Finance from proposing, while the law is being drafted, a regulation on taxing foreign currency earnings of our citizens in foreign countries? A category of those who go abroad to ply their trade exists the world over. We too should develop such a system.

[Lobov] There are many complex problems in developing such a system. We are thinking about them and are trying to solve them somehow, but we have not yet come up with a workable system of taxing foreign earnings. Do not forget about the possibility of depositing the money at a foreign bank and using a credit card instead of cash. In short, it is difficult to exercise control over such incomes and to tax them. Taxing the currency that is being brought into the country physically is different, of course.

The following was said by **D.Zamani, director of the department of currency services to citizens of the USSR Foreign Economic Bank:**

"There are, of course, problems both with importing and exporting currency. Our people who travel to capitalist countries on an invitation can buy hard currency at the bank office at a special rate of exchange of \$330 for R2,000. This is not a favorable exchange rate, but the right to exchange this money is, in a way, a privilege."

("Some privilege," I thought. "Rather, it is a punishment. Let us recall the exhausting lines for this damn currency and the fact that abroad even on trams one must pay, that to become completely dependent on those who have invited you does not become an honest man and that few people have those R2,000 lying about, anyway.")

[Zamani] Recently, we have heard many complaints from citizens traveling to European socialist countries. They rightly say that the those currencies are simply unavailable. We do not get them because our accounts with them are in deficit. This is now frequently discussed and written about in the press. Unfortunately, the balance of our currency accounts with those countries is not in favor of the Soviet Union.

O.Sinitsyna, D.Zamani's deputy said:

"The situation is slightly different with respect to the Yugoslav currency. The OVIR informed us that over 1 million visa were issued last year to travel to Yugoslavia. This meant that our banks had to begin selling the Yugoslav currency. In the end, a little over 400,000 of our citizens crossed the Yugoslav border last year. This meant that 600,000 people who bought the currency from us stayed home. Their dinars were not imported into Yugoslavia, or else taken there by other people. Perhaps by those who bought them on the black market. To finance business transactions."

Abroad Everything Is Cheap

Except shipping costs money. Plus customs duties. Is it smart, to put another surcharge on imported goods even though we are still so painfully short of them?

This and similar questions were posed to V.Draganov:

[Draganov] The future law on exit and entry may become useless unless we, representatives of all concerned agencies who have gathered here, continue this discussion, begun by the newspaper, after we leave here, agreeing to draft a state program to implement this excellent from the humanitarian point of view law. I started to work as a USSR border customs' agent 18 years ago. I was sure then that a Soviet citizen is a different species from an American. We used the class approach in assessing visitors to our country and emigrants as we, customs agents, saw them. If someone was emigrating, he was automatically suspect. And if a woman married a foreigner, she was downright a bad one. No body search could be too insulting for such a person. If someone was leaving for creative reasons, he was a traitor to the Motherland. It is a good thing that we now have a different approach. There can be no doubt that the law on exit will be hugely profitable to us. The benefits will be both moral and material. In the end, everything balances out in nature.

When a person reasons: "I want to go abroad and work there, and maybe learn something that I could apply at home when I return," he is a greater patriot than one

who doubts whether to let him go or not. But the more people travel, the more problems there are for the customs service. You say that we should not charge customs on foreign goods. This is the question about a flexible legal regulation of customs service, and I will try to give you a reply to it. But let me first talk about our staff shortages and poor material and technical base. We seem to have fallen out of the sky onto a civilized planet. Problems have implacably arisen which we never used to have due to our total isolation from the outside world. They can not be left unsolved. They can not be postponed, either. Let us spend the funds which we used to spend to keep ourselves isolated on broadening our communications with the world, and this approach will bring direct and obvious benefits. We have submitted a request to the government to fund the construction of customs service facilities on the state border. We want them to be up to world standards. Now, it is up to the Ministry of Finance.

[Question] But tell me, respected Valeriy Gavrilovich, why is it that personal computers, which are so needed in our country, are subject to enormous duties when they are brought into the country? Why is it that Soviet citizens, who go for a visit abroad practically without money, can not bring a present to their hospitable relatives costing more than R30? Why an athlete or an actor, who in the past had been able to bear his humiliating poverty with the help of processed cheese and canned fish, can no longer take along food products costing over R5? They certainly have no more hard currency than before.

[V.Draganov] The first thing I want to say to you, you know very well yourself: countries with normally functioning economies typically try to encourage the exportation of goods and to limit, to some extent, imports, to protect their own manufacturing. Yet, customs in Czechoslovakia, the GDR and Hungary, under pressure from fraternal shoppers, have begun to limit exports. They are thus protecting their relatively abundant markets. We, too, are protecting our rather poor market. This is the cause of all limits that we impose on taking out bicycles, photographic cameras, vacuum cleaners, coffee, cocoa powder, sausage and even canned fish. In some western oblasts of the Ukraine, Belorussia and Moldavia, a mass outflow of manufactured goods and food products abroad has occurred. The government is now forced to introduce extreme limitations. That R5 limit has been imposed on travelers to countries with which we share a border. We have no limits on imports any more. Any Soviet or foreign national can bring in any quantity of goods, provided his currency is obtained legally. If he brings those goods for sale, he must pay customs duties. We have no restrictions on computers any more. If for personal use, they can be brought in duty-free. But if for sale, each is covered by a R5,000 duty.

A Visa for a Raphael

But let us go back to those who want to emigrate. I have recently read in a newspaper that an artist, in order to

take his own painting out of the country, must pay duties amounting to its price which is set by the Ministry of Culture. Is it not a mockery of the concept of property? A person is forced to buy his own work from himself. If he does not buy it, no one is likely to want it. State purchasers, at least, are not queuing up for it. It can be thrown out or left to friends as a memento.

[V.Draganov] All self-respecting countries must be concerned about their artistic patrimony. Such items, even if they are used by individuals, are not only their property but state property, as well. If I have a Raphael in my private collection, I should not be able to take it out of the country. Even now, after the law on property has been passed. We need some additional regulations in this area.

The discussion was joined by V.Mozolin, doctor of legal sciences, from the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law:

"How can we even speak of human rights? How can private property be state property, too? The problem of artistic patrimony is resolved completely differently in all other countries. If you own something, you can do whatever you want with the object. That object, its artistic value, will not diminish no matter in what country it stays. In general, the more popular our art becomes the world over the better. The artist must have the right to control this. We do not have this absolute ownership right, which is very unfortunate. But let us forget for a moment the issue of man and his rights. I think that the law that is being discussed has an even broader significance. In essence, it brings our country, and our economy, into the world economic system, where labor moves globally. This future awaits us, too. When our labor is competitive in the world market, its quality will rise immeasurably. For our country, it will be a new technological stage of development.

Not to Overcome, but to Catch Up with Life

Let us continue quoting Professor Mozolin:

"The relationship between the law on property, which has already been passed, and the law on exit and entry is of fundamental importance. We, lawyers, will be required to do much work to make sure that these two laws fit together seamlessly. The problems here include the issue of deposits in foreign banks, of free import and export of hard currency and of the right of emigrants to take out all their material and artistic possessions. I think that for solving these problems, it would be very important to establish the interagency coordinating entity, since we deal here not only with rights of man and his honor and dignity, but also with the honor and dignity of a great power. This must not be forgotten."

[Draganov] Some people think that the issue of exit and entry interests very few people in this country. These are not the people's concerns, they claim. The people worries about other things, such as empty shelves in stores, price hikes and low salaries. This is true. Yet, on the other

hand, last year, 31 million people crossed our border in both directions, including Soviet citizens and foreign nationals. That was before the new law was passed. So, what is happening is not due to the law and lawmakers, but to life itself. The law, in fact, is catching up with life. The faster it does so the better.

It would be hard to add anything to this.

Handbook on Public Organizations Published

18120123A Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 16, 29 Apr-6 May 90 p 2

["Moscow Diary"]

[Text] The state-run Molodaya Gvardiya publishing house has come out with the USSR's first reference book on independent groups, Unofficial Russia. The book contains information about 350 unofficial associations from 77 cities—the history of their founding, structures, aims, methods and press.

A heated argument flared up at a founding congress of the detective services association (which unites all branches of the Alex detective agencies throughout the Russian Federation), held on Good Friday in Moscow. There was a strong controversy over the setting up of an independent trade union for these services. Indeed, the Alex staffers, standing guard over security-sensitive projects, supervising goods traffic, combatting industrial espionage and protecting citizens' honor and dignity have found themselves socially insecure. The debate centered around the rules and functions of the trade union which is expected to operate on a cost-accounting basis. But a compromise was reached, and an independent trade union was founded and is to join, as a collective member, the Federation of Russia's independent trade unions set up in March.

It has become a custom with visiting Russian emigres, unlawfully exiled or forced to leave their native country, not to arrive empty-handed. On his latest visit to Moscow, the world-famous sculptor Ernst Neizvestny brought his projects for monuments to the victims of Stalin's purges. He plans to enter in the competition. Neizvestny is also negotiating on memorials to be put up in Magadan, Vorkuta and Sverdlovsk.

Can Big Mac boxes be recycled? Yes, they can. The enterprising babushkas from Moscow markets think they're the best containers for selling seedlings. The boxes sporting the world-famous trademark are much more attractive than the plastic bags they used before.

Foreigners seem to be quickly adopting the worst of our habits. An intoxicated Mongolian schoolboy was found

drowned in a swimming-pool at the Hotel Cosmos. During the first three months of 1990, twice as many foreigners (30), have committed crimes or been detained by militia, as during the same period last year (14).

A party to mark the first anniversary of Dom Kino (Cinema House newspaper) was held on Eastern Sunday. Among the celebrities attending were Eldar Ryazanov, Vitaly Korotich, Alla Demidova, Mikhail Zhvanetsky, Arkady Arkanov and Veronika Dolina. The money raised at the party was transferred to the fund of the Russian Federation's Union of Theatrical Workers.

Consequences of Democratic Platform's Split From CPSU Examined

18120123B Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 17, 6-13 May 90 p 6

[Article by V. Orlov, Council member, Gorky Party Club Democratic Platform in the CPSU; senior lecturer, member of the Party committee, Gorky University and I. Yakimov, Professor, secretary of the Party committee, Gorky University, candidate for delegate to the 28th CPSU Congress]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee has addressed an Open Letter to the country's Communists. Without any dialogue with a certain part of the Party membership, the Central Committee flew in the face of its own declarations in the draft Platform for the 28th Congress, announced them to be ideological adversaries, and threatened to expel them from its ranks. Pride of place in the Open Letter was given to the Democratic Platform in the CPSU—a trend which is the most consistent in advocating a radical reform of the Party and a change in its role in society.

During our lifetime a call for purging the Party was heard on only one occasion—at the 19th Party Conference—but was rejected. Older comrades remember several such purges. Stalin carried them out most effectively; parting with one's Party membership card was accompanied, as a rule, by parting with one's freedom or even one's life. Purges in our country and in the Party have too sad a history and too bad a reputation for anyone to harbour illusions about the possibility of achieving anything with their help, to say nothing of unity.

The apparat's present-day purpose is clear: to bar from the Congress at all costs the few advocates of democratizing the Party who have a chance of getting there. But the price may be too high both for the apparat and for society as a whole. Raising tensions in the Party will inevitably tell on the entire system, which is already strained enough.

Who benefits by it? No one, and primarily not the apparat itself. Like any other large-scale campaign, a purge requires considerable efforts and proper organization. Whom can the apparat rely on? How many rank-and-file Communists will it be able to enlist for the role

of procurators at "trials" in primary Party organizations? There will be some willing to do this, of course, but will there be enough of them? Will the other Communists agree to accept the role of impartial jurors? And will they pass the verdict of guilty? Lastly, what is to be done with the Party organizations in which the supporters of the Democratic Platform are in the majority? As we see, a large number of even purely technical questions arise in this context.

Now about a split in substance.

If we were to speak about ideology, i.e., about a programme, the Democratic Platform is weak in its economic and social views. And it doesn't make sense to expel them for something that doesn't exist. Therefore it appears that what may result is an organizational split based on a reconsideration of the Party's role in society and a reform of its organizational structure. This is what is being called "undermining". Of course, in its draft Platform the Central Committee also speaks about the need for a reform of the CPSU. But the Democratic Platform is suspected (and not without good reason) of planning not only to speak, but also to act. This is a sign of the well-known truism: whatever is good for society is ruinous or even fatal for the existing apparatus. At the given stage their interests not only do not square—they are antithetical. Nor do the apparatus's interests dovetail with the aspirations of rank-and-file Communists who have been trying to find a way out of the impasse. It is these aspirations that the Democratic Platform has given vent to.

Moreover, in its resolution "On the Situation in the CPSU" passed on March 19, the DP's Coordinating Council states: "...the march of events has led to the inevitability of a split in the CPSU and the establishment of new parties, including those on the basis of the Democratic Platform and the platform of the Inter-Regional Deputy Group (IDG)."

"The Coordinating Council suggests that the coming Congress of the Democratic Platform and the republican and regional conferences should initiate the formation of a new political party on the basis of the DP and IDG platform, while continuing the struggle for a majority at the conferences and congresses of the CPSU."

In fact, this amounts to a renunciation of the Democratic Platform as such, the substance of which obviously consists in a reform of the CPSU. The establishment of a new party and the withdrawal from the CPSU are absolutely different undertakings, something which the DP does not recognize. Strictly speaking, the Coordinating Council's statement doesn't make sense. It is impossible to form a new party from the DP: it has no programme except criticism of the CPSU and proposals to reform the same CPSU. If we bear in mind the Declaration of the DP's January Conference, all of its policy provisions were squeezed into one (the third) paragraph: from democratic socialism to the political

rights of the individual. Moreover, no one argues with this; the same is offered by the draft of the CPSU Central Committee.

The DP has outlined the structural skeleton of a parliamentary party, aspiring for power in society through democratic elections and in the eventuality of its success in these elections, constructively cooperating with other parties within parliament and in all public organizations where it is represented. This is what the CPSU must recognize.

Let us recall that the DP was published in Pravda, i.e., received a broad political audience, only on March 3. The Coordinating Council's statement, actually amounting to a renunciation of the published platform, was adopted on March 19, that is a mere two weeks later. Such actions can hardly be recognized as being consistent. The impression is that the Coordinating Council in Moscow did not even try to find out the response of the broad masses of Communists to the published documents.

The repeated discussions of this question at the Council of the Gorky Party Club, at its meetings and the DP regional conference have shown that we agree on one thing: a withdrawal of the supporters of democratization from the ranks of the CPSU would come as a windfall to those against a reform of the Party. And in general it is not clear why the followers of the DP should leave the Party, and not the sponsors of the Open Letter, whose names are still unknown to us. Who has a right now, before the Congress, to lay down the "Party line", the formulation of which must be the outcome of an all-Party discussion.

If the DP Coordinating Council's statement is seen as a warning, as political pressure, the Central Committee's Open Letter is a fully adequate reply. On the other hand, if the Central Committee goes beyond a warning, or if the Party committees at the grassroots level compliantly start a purge, all this will entail a great tragedy.

If it becomes impossible to secure consolidation in the Party, this does not mean that the alternative is confrontation. In effect, no serious dialogue has yet taken place—this can happen only at the Congress. If the "upper echelons" can't agree, maybe the "lower depths" can. In the final analysis, the party means the broad membership.

Today the question rather consists in this: if a split is inevitable, where will the demarcation line be? Nor is it possible to forget about the new economic realities in which preparations for the Congress are proceeding.

Time is needed to understand new ideas and reach a compromise. Considering the positive role that time can play, the advocates of radical change should not force a split. The experience of the past few months testifies that the radicals will gradually secure their ends and at some moment will possibly cease being radicals.

However, whatever the outcome of the Congress, one thing is already clear: society will no longer accept a supporting role in our political life, still less will it agree to build its structures in conformity with the CPSU's views about them. Quite the contrary, the CPSU must reckon with society's views about the Party. And these views seem to gravitate towards the model of a parliamentary type of party.

USSR Deputies Debate Secession, Federation Future

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[Unattributed article: "The Federation: Will It Keep?"]

[Text] The Soviet Federation is bedeviled by crisis. The country is rocked by interethnic conflicts and in various places the issue of secession and republican independence is put forward.

The USSR Supreme Soviet discussed in sequence three bills for enactment that should affect the Federation's further lot. They are: a law to renew the Union treaty and discriminate between USSR and Union Republic powers; a law on procedure for coping with aspects of Union Republic secession from the USSR; and a law on general principles of economic and social management in Union and autonomous republics.

The parliamentary debate which was not televised or reported in the press revealed not only the painful aspects we know, but also other hazardous issues in the sideline of public opinion.

Go or Stay

Paradoxically enough, to shore up the Federation, it is vital to enact a law governing the procedure for Union Republic secession from the USSR.

[Deputy Andrei Sebestov] In connection with the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet's decision, the Third Congress of People's Deputies debated the issue of the republic's secession from the Union. Characteristically, the Lithuanian people's right to whatever degree of self-determination was not denied. Revealed, though, were problems related to the historically established republican territory and boundaries and how to ensure the legitimate interests of all ethnic groups resident in that republic. There also emerged matters bearing upon the changes in the economic links between enterprises and the regulation of economic relationships.

What procedures does the bill specify?

The first phase is to raise the question. This may be a decision by the republic's Supreme Soviet or a demand put forward by at least a tenth of the republic's population.

The second phase is to hold a referendum but not before six months pass.

The third phase is to have the republic's Supreme Soviet summarize and formulate referendum results.

The fourth phase is to table these results with the USSR Supreme Soviet which may appoint a second referendum either for the entire republic or for some parts of the republic should a violation of the law be found.

The fifth phase is to exchange information and gather proposals as to the specific issues arising out of the republic's secession.

The sixth phase is to have the matter discussed by the Congress of People's Deputies, after which a transition period of up to five years is to be set.

The seventh phase is to recognize the secession, for which purpose the Congress of People's Deputies is convened.

[Deputy Georgi Tarazevich] The bill proceeds from the premise that in a Union Republic incorporating autonomous republics, autonomous regions and autonomous areas, referendums be held separately in each such autonomous unit. The peoples of the autonomous republics and the other autonomous units are entitled to decide for themselves whether to stay within the Union or within the seceding republic. They also decide for themselves aspects of future legal status of statehood. As for the future lot of ethnic groups compactly resident within the seceding republic, we gave thought to how to cope with that and decided that the referendum be held with account taken of their opinions... How are we to define the boundaries of a compactly resident ethnic group and how are we to implement the machinery enabling such a group to freely express its will? Proposed is the following option. Boundaries are to be defined in line with the currently obtaining administrative territorial division of, for instance, the districts or rural Soviets where the population of the given ethnic unit constitute a majority. The said administrative boundaries are to be taken to define the boundaries of compact residence. Then referendum results are to be tallied and should, for instance, the majority or two thirds of the population resident within the given boundaries decide to stay within the Union, that wish will be met. another option may be proposed, which is to give the population of the region in question the chance to independently define their status, for instance, that of an autonomous unit and then act as we would with respect to any autonomous creation.

[Deputy Yuri Boyars] Re: the so-called "compactly resident groups," when our Commission debated this issue, we had some five professors attending, and we all agreed that in line with the general principles of international law, "ethnoses", that is "ethnic groups," peoples, but not social groups as, pardon me, the so-called Russian-speaking population, may exercise the right to self-determination. In Latvia, for instance, we have representatives of 85 different nationalities in its Communist Party alone, most of whom are of the so-called Russian-speaking population.

[Deputy Alexander Pavlii] We have now come up against a practice when for various reasons groups of people leaving one or another republic for a third republic are not accepted. We may have a situation when in the case of a republic's secession from the Soviet Union large human masses will migrate to other places. Wouldn't you think it essential to have this law incorporate a clause specifying the need to accept so large a human mass.

[Deputy Georgi Tarazevich] I think that applying the law to decide these matters and compel anyone to settle within certain definite territories is scarcely right. I think that if an individual citizen or an individual group of citizens will want to migrate, then before raising the issue these people should obtain the consent, for instance, of the territory, the state or the republic where they want to go.

[Deputy Yuri Krasilnikov] Through analysis reveals that the bill fails to cope with the basic issue of giving the peoples the chance to exercise the right to self-determination. There is no concrete timetable for one or another procedure. Hence the issue may drag out for decades. After all, can we drag out for five years, that is the term of the transition period, a decision as regards a matter with respect to which the people already voiced their views. To all practical intents, the decision-making has been left in the hands of the USSR. why not allow a Union Republic's Supreme Soviet to decide when to hold a referendum? We must set timetables with an eye to the local situation, and not dictate such timetables from above, from Moscow.

[Deputy Vladimir Volkov] It appears to me that to all practical intents, the bill robs a decision on a republic's secession from the Soviet Union of prospects. When properties—Union, Union Republican or Republican—are split up, decisions will actually be taken by the ministries speaking for the Union. Do you really think that at least one such ministry would decide in favor of a republic resolving to secede from the Union? I think that exceedingly naive. Now about financial matters. We have listened to what Comrade Maslyukov said at the Congress of People's Deputies, and we have also been provided with materials prepared by the Lithuanian delegation as to what it thinks the Soviet Union owes Lithuania today. The approaches are totally different, as are the points of departure and, naturally, the conclusions drawn. Now about the territories of compact residence of ethnic units. In the Union's view, it would most likely be thought expedient to count three houses, for instance, a hamlet of three houses, as a site where people of one nationality live. From the republic's angle, such a hamlet would not be seen as separate, and it would not be worthwhile taking into account the opinion of the people living there, for instance, during that self-same referendum. As to the results of the referendum, who is to qualify its lawfulness? I have listed issues, for tackling which it will be essential to have an umpire. Needed is a Union agency capable of utmost objectiveness in coping with controversial issues.

[Deputy Yuri Blokhin] Concurrence with the principle of the self-determination of nations is out of the question. It should be taken into account, but we find it at once confused with the self-determination of republics. Most likely, we should discriminate between these notions. It is precisely the principle of the self-determination of nations that has brought the country to an impasse. Our multinational state, any of its republics, comprises a society of many nationalities. By picking out one nationality, we manifestly place it in opposition to the other nationalities resident in this region or republic. In this way we create a disproportion, an uncomfortable community and a situation that we now see everywhere.

[Deputy Sergei Danilov] I think the bill grants too freely the right to secession from the Union. It reminds me of the chance to freely skip from place to place. For instance, I may want to be in the Union, or if I find it not to my taste, I may leave it. Hence I propose recording the position thus: the Union Republics may freely secede from the Union provided they guarantee the discharge of their obligations to the Union. Otherwise, this would not properly discipline them.

[Deputy Yuri Boyars] Deputy Blokhin says the self-determination of nations brought the Soviet Union to an impasse. I would like to say that the self-determination of nations created the world and the democratic states of today. I don't think anyone could dispute that as comprising a basic principle at the foundation of world development.

The Union and Sovereignty

A practical law governing the procedure for a Union Republic's secession from the Federation will defuse a certain amount of tension existing in some regions, and civilize relations between the republics. However, that applies to an extreme situation, when a republic has already decided to secede. The problem is to avoid such situations. What do the law-makers propose to keep the Union going?

[Deputy Boris Oleinik] The law to renew the Union treaty and discriminate between USSR and Union Republic powers is geared above all to investing the Union and the autonomous republics with full plentitude of power within their respective regions, except for economic and socio-cultural matters pertaining to the common interests of the peoples integrated in the Soviet Federation. The important aspect here is that under the new law the list of issues that are the Union's exclusive prerogative cannot be modified in any other way than by a consensus between all the Union Republics.

[Deputy Valentina Shevchenko] Union law comes before republican law in but two cases. These are when it governs relations exclusively within the USSR's jurisdiction, as defined by agreement between all Union Republics, and when it defines the basic principles governing social relationships within an area under the joint jurisdiction of the USSR and a Union Republic. As for the USSR Council of Ministers and the Union ministries,

whenever their ordinances differ from Union-republic legislation, the Union Republic should come first. The Union Republic should be entitled to suspend within its territory the operation of ordinances issued by the Union government and Union ministries. What should come within Union jurisdiction are such matters as national defence, including the armed forces and the military-industrial complex, also transportation, with the exception of motor and river transport, communications, finances, more specifically, monetary emission, the basic rights and freedoms of the Soviet citizen, the guarding of the country's outer boundaries and the implementation or crucial all-union programmes of overall state significance, as, for example, space research. Still, even these matters should be agreed with the Union Republics.

[Deputy Anatoly Sobchak] We cannot have a union even at confederation level, unless we also enact the basic principles of civil or labor legislation, the fundamentals of health and educational legislation. If we, supposedly in Union Republic interests, relegate these realms of law exclusively to Union Republic jurisdiction, we shall thus be heavily undercutting Union Republics themselves. After all representatives of different Union Republics take treatment in Moscow and Leningrad and in other republics than their own. Treatment is often provided at medical centers in other republics. Unless we institute Union fundamentals that will allow, for instance, an Uzbekistan representative to visit Moscow for treatment or to attend Moscow or Leningrad university, he will not have that opportunity later, as local bodies of power will insist that people from the Caucasus, Byelorussia or Central Asia be denied admission.

[Deputy Konstantin Lubenchenko] The USSR, though a state incorporating sovereign republics, is not a mechanical amalgamation, but one organically integrated whole. Ordinary arithmetic does not apply: here we must resort to higher mathematics. Very often, when reviewing the problem of sovereignty, especially of the Union Republics, we mean absolute sovereignty. Now that is wrong as the world community is currently gradually forging the absolute right of states, as they seek unanimity and new relationships based not only on respect for the rights of the various states, but also on respect for the rights of all peoples. Hence, absolute sovereignty is no longer a form of state existence within the international community. So when considering the federal organization of our state, we do not have the absolute sovereignty of the republics in mind, but their relative sovereignty, with the republics exercising full rights within their respective territories. However, some of their rights are conceded as the exclusive prerogative of the larger community which champion the interests of each republic as integrated in one whole.

[Deputy Lyudmila Arutyunyan] The bill formulates government by administrative fiat and volition, yet the country must regear to economic relationships, and dependence should be exclusively of an economic nature. May I assure you that not a single republic will

stay within the Union given administrative subordination. Economic interests should underlie the Union. When discriminating between powers, we say that this is what Moscow will do, that is what a Union Republic may do and that is what an autonomous republic may do. Where in this case is economic dependence as the firmest of foundations? Europe, which is to abolish all frontiers by 1992, proceeds from common economic interests. So why are we today in 1990, overlooking economic interests? Why do we keep on talking about discrimination of rights and obligations by volition.

Third-Rate?

Though, of course, the situation in respect of Lithuania appears most dangerous and hardest to resolve, we must not overlook the fact that for several years now blood is spilled not because the Lithuanians want to secede from the Union, but in the upshot of the traffic conflict around Nagorny Karabakh, an autonomous region whose status has caused two Union Republics to go to war. Also why is the decision that the supreme body of power in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic took during the Baku events to secede from the USSR, almost ignored?

[Deputy Olzhas Suleimenov] It appears high time to consider the following hypocritical euphemism, though the term "autonomy" implies independence, it is precisely independence, sovereignty that is denied republics termed autonomous. The people themselves must determine the form of their statehood within the Federation. A referendum should decide whether the people want twofold subordination or to comprise an equal Union Republic. Would not there be too many Union Republics in that case? According to European reckoning, a territory like ours could incorporate as many as 400 independent states. In future this sort of division will continue as national self-awareness increases. We are moving away from an empire-communal form of statehood to national statehood, and these processes must necessarily be explicitly understood.

[Deputy Anatoly Chekhoyev] We have still not defined the concept as to whether our treaty be merely a treaty between 15 Union Republics or a treaty between 53 national territorial units. Perhaps it would be simpler today for Moscow to keep to the Union Republics, or, in other words, continue as it has done over the past 70 years and push problems of autonomy into the background, otherwise leave them in the hands of the Union Republics. The representatives of the autonomous units very well realize the entire complexity. I am convinced that many issues would be better understood given firm effective guarantees for their future rights and powers. But take this sidelight. Put to the vote at the Third Congress was an amendment to extend the powers of autonomous units. Most representatives from Union Republics incorporation autonomous units cast their ballots against that. Doesn't the danger exist that in the renewed Federation, we will again be having second- or third-rate peoples? You know that today we have this classification crystallizing. We have the owners and the

migrants, the aliens or, in a parliamentary sense, indigenous and non-indigenous residents.

[Deputy Yuri Sharipov] Autonomy is highly restricted. An autonomous republic has no confirmed right to move from one Union Republic to another, though there have been such cases in soviet history. Latterly, the question is being raised in some autonomous republics, more specifically, Tataria and Bashkiria, to acquire Union Republic status. That status would offer greater opportunities for the economic and cultural advancement of the nations of these republics.

When one state, and autonomous Republic is subordinated to and dependent upon, another state, a Union Republic, that involuntarily suggests that we have higher nations and lower nations.

[Deputy Valery Voskoboinikov] It must be realized that the federal state of the USSR incorporates one more federated state, namely, the Russian Federation. Even its territorial integrity arouses certain doubts. I think that were autonomous units to be separated from the Russian Federation, it would resemble a chunk of Swiss cheese, hence I think it vital to revise the legal concept and modify the law so that there be no interference in Union Republic affairs. Meanwhile these republics themselves will say whether they should or not conclude similar treaties with all the national territorial formations within them.

[Deputy Vladislav Ardzinba] At the Third Congress of People's Deputies, the Chairman of the Editorial Commission said an autonomous republic was not a sovereign state. Colonies and dependencies are seen the world over as non-sovereign states. Does this mean we are someone's colony or inalienable property? The problem of the new Federation is not so much one of guaranteeing the rights of the states in the Union, as of guaranteeing the rights of the peoples whose creative efforts generated all existing forms of statehood and the USSR itself. After all, according to the 1922 Declaration, the USSR, is "a voluntary association of equal peoples."

Shcherbakov Discusses Government Pay Raises

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[Article by V. Shcherbakov, chairman of the State Committee of the USSR on Labor and Social Questions: "Point of View: Unpopular Measure—Wise Step? Why We Decided to Raise Salaries of Administrative Workers of State Government Agencies"]

[Text] As is widely known, workers of the party apparatus, the trade-union, the Komsomol organs, and the organs of state government have received pay raises.

The public reaction to this decision was varied. Many considered the decision untimely and, more importantly, an attempt by supporters of a command administrative

system to strengthen their positions in the battle with a progressive system of government, which is based on a planned market economy.

Is that really the case? We decided to find out what the chairman of the USSR State Committee for Labor thinks. That is, from the department which has the most direct relationship to wage rate.

I'm specifying beforehand that I speak only about administrators of government organs. The goal of the USSR government in preparing this decision was to create preconditions for the formation of administrative organs of a new type which could work effectively within the social and economic conditions which are taking shape in the country in the course of perestroika.

Naturally, in order to have a quality government, you need quality administrative cadres. Who is this current administrative worker of the apparatus? Or more exactly, who should he be?

It seems to me, he is first of all a professional (economist, lawyer, engineer), having a sufficiently broad outlook and experience working with people. He has prestige with management and staff in his own organization and other organizations of equal and higher rank. Prestige—this, I think, is an acknowledgment of the dignity of a man in each sphere of activity, that is determined first of all by his business and personal qualifications. That is to say, if for example there is a speech about the deputy minister, then the prestige of the man occupying that post should be acknowledged at least by the directors of enterprises. If the speech is about a staff member of the ministry or State Committee, then he should at least be shown deference by the directors of the activities with which the staff member is associated.

When speaking about specialists working in such socio-economic organs as the State Planning Committee, State Committee for Statistics, Ministry of Finance, Central Planning Committee and others, then, besides a broad general knowledge and high professionalism, they should certainly have a solid scientific education. Indeed, such criteria in the selection of cadres of the apparatus interest us all, because each person surely wants the solution to his question—whether it be personal or production-related—to fall into the hands of a bright, benevolent, professionally solid, competent person. Red tape, arrogance, ignorance, which you very often find in the apparatus of various organizations, is first of all evidence of low culture and low professional qualifications of their administrative workers.

But where do all these professionals in the notorious "apparatus" come from? From that section of the national economy which we call fundamental—from the enterprises, from the Scientific Research Institutes, design bureaus, state farms, collective farms, schools, hospitals and so forth.

And now let's take a look at why a worker with high qualifications, prompted only by a goal to take part in

greater scale and complex problem solving, would want to transfer to work in the apparatus if he knew that he would be materially worse off in comparison with those in production? I think, if he's a careerist, he would hardly take such a step. Try to convince the director of a factory to go to work in a ministry. Offer him a good position—he will refuse, even if that person is an excellent specialist—enterprising and energetic. It would be good to appoint him chief of the central board of the ministry, where he could improve the activities of a segment of industry. No, it would not happen.

You ask why? Because he has a salary of 430 rubles, in addition to the possibility of receiving at least that much in a bonus. In that job he has a little less responsibility, and a little more freedom of action. And he has an official car and a good factory vacation. But what will he get as a chief of the central board of the ministry? 450 rubles a month and almost a token bonus. Even a minister of the USSR, before the approval of the decision to raise salaries, was in a worse situation financially than the director of a factory.

I'm not even talking about people with academic degrees such as doctorates and candidates degrees, working in research and design organizations. For them a transfer into the apparatus—even to very high positions—practically means they would lose 40-50 percent of their earnings. And indeed, for a nation it is very important that those who make government decisions are the most capable and qualified. But the best workers would not come into the apparatus.

The situation is similar in the apparatus of the ispolkoms of the Soviets of the People's Deputies. Do you know how much a director of an administrative ispolkom in a major city such as Sverdlovsk or Novosibirsk would receive? 240 rubles a month. However, a senior specialist would receive 150-170 rubles, and an economist, architect, or legal advisor 120-150 rubles. And this is practically all. Who will take these positions if the salary of a department head of an average-sized commercial enterprise is now 280 rubles, adding to this increments up to half one's salary in addition to bonuses, which together may reach nine times a government salary?

Therefore, I think one can only be indignant with the wage increase for the "apparatus" if one does not know the real state of affairs. It is true that another argument was already put forward: these steps would lead to an increase of pensions. But why is it necessary to patch up the holes in our societal garment on account of government administrative workers? Where is the social justice here?

Getting to the point, of the overall number of administrative workers who received a wage increase in accordance with the government's decision, nearly 80 percent are workers in the apparatus of ispolkoms in local Soviets of People's Deputies, and the left over 20 percent will go to administrative workers at the union and republic level. We should not forget that only a year ago

the average salary of administrative workers in the apparatus in the rural and settlement Soviets was 132 rubles.

Having accepted the decision about the salary increase in the government apparatus, we in no way whatever set these administrative workers above corresponding production links in the national economy, but merely removed that barrier which made impossible the transfer of a highly-qualified specialist from production to management.

There is another aspect of this problem to be considered: organization of labor for apparatus workers. Would it be effective without an incentive system for co-workers? What if a man only "occupies a position" and receives his small but dependable salary, no matter how the work is done? No, the expression "cushy job" does not exist without a reason. Indeed there are "small apparatus tricks," such as all sorts of agreements, "coordinations" of decisions which are still incomplete, and wrestling with a problem which doesn't correspond to the level of competence in a particular job, etc.

And here is what is especially interesting. Even if the higher manager sincerely wanted to put an end to all red tape, doing so would not be simple. There are no levers he can pull to accomplish this. Lowering the pay scales is practically impossible. His position is not high enough to accomplish this. Provide incentives for good work? Bonuses used to be merely symbolic: in the central apparatus at the union-level—45 rubles a year per person. Should a worker be fired? One could, of course, do this. But try to put yourself in the place of a person who possessed the sort of knowledge, of the one who is fired, and under these circumstances agreed to such a salary. No, all this seems practically impossible.

One solution is left: administrative influence. Of course, this has a dramatic effect, but if the administrative worker "does not give of himself," if he is not interested in conscientious and creative labor, then what is the use of even the strictest reprimands?

Of course the new system of worker pay does not allow us to solve all questions of improvement of our apparatus. But at least it enables strictly demanding from workers performance of the job entrusted to them.

I will note also that simultaneously with the issuance of the new pay scales, government employment was offered as well as competitive criteria for obtaining that employment. Each citizen with appropriate knowledge and experience can, if he wishes, work in the apparatus. Legal and material prerequisites for this now exist.

What does the government decree contain that is new about the organization of wage scales for workers in management.

In the first place—new schedules of official salaries were introduced. Projected growth in official salaries of directors and specialists at the union-level was placed at 30-45

percent; republic and oblast levels on the average of 50 percent; city and rayon levels, up to 70 percent; rural and settlement Soviets near 100 percent. The laws regarding managers of government organs were substantially broadened. Now they can change the structure of the apparatus, establish increases for high achievements in the quality or importance of work, and award bonuses to workers. Naturally everything must stay within the limits of the labor wage fund.

It is not clear where the government will get the money for pay raises for the administrative apparatus, because all these measures presuppose no additional allocation of budget. What concerns the All-Union organs is that the growth in wages comes from savings resulting from cutbacks in administrative expenditures for maintenance. Such savings arose as a result of the reorganization of the organs of State government—new general schedules were introduced, and some ministries and departments of the USSR were merged or liquidated, resulting in a 25 percent decrease in the number of union and republic ministries. And the number of administrative workers in the apparatus of the administrative organs was reduced in 1989 by more than a quarter of a million people, or by 14 percent, including a reduction of 34,000 (17 percent) administrative workers of the central apparatus at the union and republic ministries. The apparatus of the oblast sections lost 62,000 people (23 percent). The merger of the USSR Ministry of Agricultural Machinery and the USSR Ministry of Automobile Industry into one Ministry of Automobile and Agricultural Machine Building eliminated more than 1000 people.

In moving to the new pay scales, the republic administrative organs and the ispolkoms of the Soviets of People's Deputies use savings from cutbacks in spending on maintenance of State administrative organs. They can use for these purposes additional funds paid into their budget from the State revenues allocated to them. They

implement the transfer to new salaries only after they manage to earn these revenues.

The size of the State and economic administrative organs today consists of nearly 1.6 million people. Is this a lot or a little? Is it lawful to spend corresponding revenues on their upkeep? I think that such a question is not appropriate. Today's administrative system is a mirror of our present understanding of the essence of social organization. Judging by this, however our ideology develops, tomorrow we will apparently have other economic and political systems and, understandably, a different administrative system. Some functions and, correspondingly, administrative organs will wither away, and others will appear. I cannot say with certainty that the size of the apparatus under these circumstances will decrease or increase. But one thing is clear—already today we should as a minimum create such conditions so that well-prepared people will come into tomorrow's apparatus and so that they work normally.

Another nomenklatura of positions was introduced in the apparatus at all levels—a classification system for specialists. Plans have also been made for special certification of specialists. Unfortunately, as experience indicates, this matter has not in all places been handled with the degree of responsibility befitting the State. We have already encountered cases of purely automatic salary increases, and of a formal approach to conducting certification. What can one say about that here? This is our general misfortune. Many Soviets of People's Deputies do not know how to attain the greatest effectiveness of their apparatus. And for now they have been provided sufficiently powerful criteria for active work—recruit high-caliber specialists—talented people—pay them according to their worth, and get rid of all the "deadwood" in the apparatus.

Now new organs of power are being elected. I am sure they will have need of a new, actively working model, capable of competently reaching decisions and organizing apparatus business. They can use in full measure the government decree on raising salaries.

25th Latvian CP Congress Resolutions

Status of the Latvian Communist Party

90UN1650A Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
13 Apr 90 p 1

[25th Latvian CP Congress Resolution: "On the Status of the Renovated Communist Party of Latvia"]

[Text] The deformations bred by distortions of the Leninist principles of building socialism, which created the conditions for the appearance of the administrative-command system, have led to profound contradictions in the society, creating a crisis situation in it.

Communists critically assess the road traversed by the party and resolutely denounce the crimes of Stalinism and the inertia of stagnation; they advocate Latvia's development along the road of democratic socialism, at the center of which is man and his commonly shared interests.

Many progressively minded communists in Latvia realize the need for radical change in the party, for resolving the problems that have accumulated in the economic, social, and spiritual spheres and in inter-ethnic relations. Strengthening the organizational and ideological unity of Communist Party ranks is an issue of primary importance.

The Congress of the Latvian Communist Party supports the provision of the draft CPSU Central Committee Platform for the 28th Party Congress, "Towards Humane, Democratic Socialism," regarding questions of the independence of the Union Republican Communist Parties.

The Communist Party of Latvia shall function on the basis of its own program and normative documents, which apply the CPSU Program and Statutes to local conditions, and independently resolve all questions of its activity.

The Communist Party seeks to achieve Latvian sovereignty along the road of renovation and development of a union of genuinely equal soviet socialist republics.

The Communist Party of Latvia is a component part of the political system of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic. It unites, on a voluntary basis, like-minded communists favoring the socialist choice, representatives of the working class, peasantry, and all working people. The Communist Party functions within the framework of the Constitution of the Latvian SSR, it bases its policy on a scientific analysis of new realities, creatively developing the fundamental provisions of the theoretical heritage of K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, and the entire progressive heritage.

The Communist Party of Latvia rejects any monopoly of power, property or ideas, it advocates democratic, reformist methods of resolving social problems. It shall

participate together with other public political organizations and movements in conducting state and public affairs in the republic through communists in the soviets and other public agencies. It shall seek to attain the position of ruling party by constitutional methods.

Proceeding from ideological and organizational unity with the CPSU, the Communist Party of Latvia shall participate in formulating the strategic course and developing the tactical measures of the CPSU through its representatives in the latter's elective bodies. The main purpose of the Communist Party's activity is to implement the will of the party masses.

The Congress of the Communist Party of Latvia considers it useful to forward the "Principles of the Latvian CP Program" and the "Latvian CP Statutes" drawn up by the new the Latvian CP Central Committee as proposals for the draft program and normative documents of the 28th Congress and to make the final decision on its own Program and Statutes after the Congress.

Implementation of Latvian CP Draft Statutes

90UN1650B Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA
in Russian 13 Apr 90 p 1

[25th Latvian CP Congress Resolution: "On Priority Organizational-Statute Problems of the Communist Party of Latvia"]

[Text] In view of the difficult socio-political situation in the republic and the critical state of the Communist Party of Latvia, the Congress considers it necessary to enact ahead of time certain provisions of the draft Statutes of the Communist Party of Latvia.

1. On the Democratization of Intraparty Life

The Congress recognizes the reality of the emergence of a multiparty system in the republic and declares that the Communist Party of Latvia will strive to achieve a vanguard role in the society on the basis of expanding intraparty democracy and openness [glasnost].

The Congress notes that an essential condition for the renovation of the party is the unfettering of the energy of all party members on the basis of comprehensive democracy in intraparty relations, which includes:

- Equal rights of all party members in resolving questions of intraparty life;
- Election of all supervisory party bodies and secretaries of party organizations on a broad democratic basis: direct elections with secret ballot and alternative choices;
- Delegation of some rights by lower party bodies to superior elective party bodies;
- Accountability of elected party bodies and their officers to their organizations and to superior party bodies;

- Conscious compliance with party discipline;
- Openness and glasnost in the activities of party bodies and their staffs;
- Freedom of opinions, criticism and self-criticism in discussing issues, diversity of approaches and platforms, regular holding of all-party referendums and debates, united action after a decision has been passed;
- The right of a minority to defend its point of view: elaborate and prove its position, reflect its own opinion in minutes, demand repeat consideration of controversial issues;
- Use of different forms of party work, such as councils of secretaries, party clubs, theoretical seminars, debating centers, and others;
- Ensuring the social and legal protection of party organizations, their secretaries and every party member.

At the same time the Congress considers it impermissible to establish within the Communist Party of Latvia factions with their own internal organization discipline, and ideological principles incompatible with the program goals of the party.

The Congress instructs the Latvian CP Central Committee to carry out the implementation of these norms of party life when elaborating and adopting its program and normative documents.

2. On Expanding the Rights of Primary Party Organizations

The Congress considers it of fundamental importance to enhance the role of the primary party organization in the party's life.

It declares that primary party organizations have the right to:

- Finalize decisions on all questions of intraparty life that do not contradict the Latvian Communist Party's program and normative documents (with the exception of personal cases): acceptance of new members, procedures for encouraging or punishing communists, establishment of their own internal structure, nomination, election and recall of representatives in superior elected party bodies, recommendation of members to serve in government, economic and public agencies and in the party apparatus;
- Independently use up to 50 percent of all collected membership dues to finance their own activities, including pay to full-time workers, as well as other financial and material assets at its disposal; the balance of membership dues shall be remitted in accordance with the CPSU Statutes to the account of the Latvian CP Central Committee;
- Set up their own publications, at their own expense;

- Replace some or all members of elected bodies before the expiration of their terms, if demanded by 1/3 of the organization membership, or if some or all members of the elected body resign;
- Set up standing or ad hoc commissions or working groups on various problems of party work;
- Delegate some of their authority to superior bodies;
- Demand that superior party bodies review and state their positions on fundamental issues concerning communists.

The Congress considers it necessary to permit city and rayon party committees to grant primary party organizations the right to make final decisions regarding persons resigning or expelled from the party.

3. On Relations between the Communist Party of Latvia and State Agencies and Public Organizations

The processes caused by perestroika have necessitated fundamental changes in the party's functions in the political life of society. Recognizing the sole authority of the Soviets in governing the state, the Congress considers it necessary to fundamentally change the tactics and methods of work of the Latvian Communist Party in state agencies and public organizations.

The Congress stresses that the Latvian Communist Party participates in the affairs of legislative and executive bodies of power only through the communists who work in them and form party groups, which may include non-member supporters of the party.

The Communist Party of Latvia calls upon other public and public-political organizations whose objectives and methods of action do not contradict the ideas of socialist democracy to develop their relations on the basis of partnership, joint platforms, alliances and factions.

In accordance with the Constitution of the Latvian SSR, the Congress instructs the Latvian Communist Party CC, city and rayon party committees to actively use the right of legislative initiative to achieve their program goals.

The Congress, while declaring that it rejects ideological blinders and intolerance towards other views and ideas, at the same time considers participation in the work of public and public-political organizations whose activity runs contrary to the principles of democratic and humane socialism incompatible with membership in the party.

4. On Party Veterans

The Congress considers it to be the duty of every party organization to care for communists who, by virtue of their active stand in life and their upholding of the party's honor and dignity, did everything possible to

enhance its prestige and contributed to the development of Soviet Latvia and the consolidation of our multinational state.

The Congress supports the numerous proposals by communists to introduce the status of "Honorary Party Member" for members of the Latvian Communist Party, taking into account their membership record, the results of their selfless work in the party, and who are unable to participate actively in the work of their primary party organizations because of age, disability or for other valid reasons.

The Congress instructs the Latvian CP Central Committee to draw up and endorse at its plenum an appropriate Statute providing for preferential, courtesy conditions of membership in the Communist Party of Latvia for party veterans.

5. On Relations With the Youth

The contradictions of the processes taking place in society require urgent specific actions aimed at achieving genuinely comradely cooperation and understanding with youth organizations.

The Congress supports the idea of granting the right to join the Latvian Communist Party to people under 18 years of age, with a mandatory candidate status period. The Communist Party's reserve are the young men and women who favor the socialist choice for the development of Soviet Latvia and are interested in implementing the program objectives of the party.

The Congress calls upon all republican party organizations to rely in their work with the youth on the Latvian LKSM [Leninist Young Communist League] and other youth organizations sharing common ideological positions with the Communist Party.

On the basis of the current political situation, the Congress instructs the Latvian CP Central Committee to develop a youth policy based on the organizational independence of youth organizations and assuring the active participation of young men and women in the renovation of society.

Appeal for Support of Party's Position on Independence

90UN1650C Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA
in Russian 13 Apr 90 p 1

[25th Latvian CP Congress appeal: "To the People's Deputies of the Latvian SSR, Communists, and All Working People of the Republic"]

[Text] On 3 May 1990, the new Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR will meet for its first session. It is known that the NFL faction of people's deputies will submit for the session's consideration draft decrees on the restoration of Latvian state independence outside the USSR.

Should these documents, contrary to the USSR Law "On Procedures for Resolving Questions Associated With a Union Republic's Secession From the USSR," be passed, a new political situation will arise in the republic, inter-ethnic relations may be sharply aggravated, which will have a direct impact on the destinies of the Latvian people and all inhabitants of Latvia and can result in a significant worsening of the republic's economic situation.

Guided by the interests of the Latvian people and all inhabitants of Latvia, the Latvian Communist Party advocates the restoration of the republic's real sovereignty within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the basis of a new union treaty and the complete power of the people in deciding questions of state development.

The 25th Congress of the Communist Party of Latvia calls upon the people's deputies of the Latvian SSR, communists and all working people of the republic to support this position of the Latvian Communist Party.

The Congress calls upon the representatives of the people to resolve these important issues in a balanced manner, on the basis of current constitutional norms, with full realization of their responsibility to the people of the republic and to history.

Support for Lithuanian, Estonian Communist Parties

90UN1650D Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
13 Apr 90 p 1

[25th Latvian CP Congress resolution: "On Supporting the Communists of Lithuania and Estonia Who have not Severed Links with the CPSU"]

[Text] The 25th Congress of the Communist Party of Latvia declares its support of the communists of Lithuania and Estonia who have not severed links with the CPSU. In these difficult days for all of us, when antisocialist forces are coming to power and openly taking to the road of changing the socio-political system in the Soviet Baltic republics, communists remaining true to their party have taken principled positions in defense of the socialist future of Lithuania and Estonia. They display fortitude and courage, remaining true to the ideals of the CPSU and its unity in extremely difficult conditions of psychological pressure.

The Congress denounces the actions of nationalist, separatist forces that have gained majorities in the republican Supreme Soviets and which are aimed at the secession of the Baltic republics from the USSR.

The Congress delegates express their confidence that, through the joint efforts of all the healthy forces of society rallied in the struggle for the unity of the CPSU and a renovated Soviet federation, we shall be able to uphold the party and socialism.

Former Ukrainian First Secretary Shelest Interviewed

90UN1633A Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA
in Ukrainian 29 Mar 90 pp 3, 4

[Interview with P.Y. Shelest by M. Doroshenko and E. Dubovyk: "Monday Starts on Saturday"]

[Text] Our conversationalist is 82 years old. If we look at him so that his figure with its large round head appears only in silhouette, and if we focus only on his manner of speech, we would think the last 18 years didn't happen. But exactly this many years have passed since he completed his last trip through the Republic - to the Crimea though Khersonshchina - as first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

One of us had an opportunity then to see Petro Yukhymovych Shelest. It was in the spring in a field not far from Perekop. The day was pleasant, one of those when a blinding sun forces you to squint hard. We remember his conversation with the farm equipment operators in the field. In each segment of the conversation, he formulated his thoughts energetically, even aggressively. However, he always listening to the end of what the other person had to say.

After this voyage, he was "awarded" a post - he was sent to Moscow in the role of the "n-th" deputy head of the Soviet government.

[RADYANSKA UKRAYINA] How did you displease Brezhnev? Why were you forced of the first secretary's position?

[SHELEST] Because I wasn't anxious to please. As for reasons and the circumstances... Maybe it would be worthwhile to familiarize you with my diary of that time, say for April 23, 1973, when the decision was being made about removing the person holding the position of deputy head of the Soviet of Ministers: "From 19.00 to 20.30 I was with L.I. Brezhnev. The conversation was long and unpleasant, although superficially peaceful. I told him everything - the unfairness, prejudice and lack of objectivity, and systematic baiting. I filed a report in which all this was set forth. He pushed it aside. "You want them," he said, "to reproach me after I die, as if I arranged for your persecution?" He began to propose his versions. He suggested threateningly, that there are various ways to resolve the question. As a result, I had to rewrite the report."

I wrote a note to him in which I said essentially the same things as in the report. I asked what I was being accused of. Evasively, he said that many documents had been collected. Was that all? "You were excessively independent. Paid no attention to Moscow. There were elements of regional loyalty and nationalism." I rejected all this, saying that I worked for the Party, for the people.

[RADYANSKA UKRAYINA] We hope you will agree, Petro Yukhymovych, that readers will not have a unanimous reaction to this diary entry. Just as both of us

don't. Because for the younger person who was in school yet at the time, the quotation is a historical witness. And for the older, "history" is one of several versions typical of history for those times; if you're disagreeable, out you go. So permit me a question about today. We have no doubt that while you were "in exile", people did not lose interest in the Ukraine; you are certainly knowledgeable about the social and political situation in the Republic now. What pleases you, what worries you about the present situation?

[SHELEST] The truth is, all these long years, I have been following with interest the life of my native Ukraine, and its people. I managed to visit there several times since I've been here. I often meet with Ukrainians here in Moscow. Of course, I get the Republic news, the Kiev press. I am sincerely happy about the successes in the past and now. I worry about the shortcomings, errors and neglected issues, failures in economics, social politics, culture, science. Ecology worries me.

At the plenary session, the Central Committee of the Communist Party noted that the economic situation in the Ukraine remains complex, unstable, that the political situation is becoming acute. Perestroika is proceeding with difficulty and has not produced concrete results. The evaluations are based on Party principles. So I don't feel the need to do my own evaluation of the situation.

As I track activities and measures passed by the new party leadership, I think that the direction of their efforts is correct. With all my heart, I wish them for success. Volodymyr Antonovych Ivashko's approach makes a good impression. I see that this is a judicious leader who painstakingly weighs and deliberates and analyzes everything. The rejuvenation of the Politburo of the Ukrainian Central Committee in several posts is exemplary.

What disturbs us the most today? The disintegration of order. Massive political education of people, democracy, glasnost - these are well earned and needed occurrences. Nevertheless, these processes should occur within the framework of lawfulness. Otherwise the anger of ruin, black rage can destroy us. All this portends mayhem, disobedience to law, and anarchy. Without fail, we must act to formulate a new political culture.

[RADYANSKA UKRAYINA] They say, Monday starts on Saturday. Was "Saturday" for today's economic restructuring the attempt to reform the economics of the 60s? It is considered to have been unsuccessful for lack of democratization of the Party and society during Khrushchev's "thaw". What is your opinion?

[SHELEST] I would name another cause for the failure of reforms in the 60s. It was not the absence of democracy that undermined it. Brezhnev squashed it when he came to power. It was paralyzed from the top. But, in general, I would not exaggerate the importance of those reforms, although it was a good idea. But, any reform needs a fusion of politics and economics, theory and practice. Whatever was missing, was missing.

Something similar is happening today, too. The old has been dismantled. But the new has not been built. And the theory? It has to be tested by reality. There has to be a deep working through, and analysis of the situation, and a psychological preparation of the entire population. Because these are lacking, some "Saturday" errors are being repeated.

At least today's changes are of higher quality. Due to the widespread democratization, people are seriously participating in public processes, in governing the country. Still, there are problems with the fundamental concept of perestroika. There have not been any scientific predictions about changes in the existing situation in the country. The attempted predictions were very difficult; unavoidably, there were socioeconomic complications. These were reflected, - negatively - in the general mood. But recently, we've begun to catch up. I believe in the efforts of scientists and theoreticians; perestroika will be successful. I believe that the people will increase their efforts to turn theory into practice. In the end, reconstruction will succeed.

Difficult problems will have to be solved in the Republic, especially in connection with the transition to fiscal responsibility, the independent management of businesses and in the solution of social problems. This is not a simple matter. I have experienced a similar restructuring in the past - starting with ministers, proceeding to cooperatives and then back to the ministries again. The shakeup of economic and organizational structures and the management of workers a difficult. Apropos, the idea of national cooperatives was a rational gem which should not be disregarded today. How significant is the experience of large enterprises being under the republics rather than the central government? It is a direct precursor to republic fiscal responsibility.

[RADYANSKA UKRAYINA] More about the reforms of the 60s and 70s. It is generally known, that this process continued even when "the higher ups", were no longer searching expecting something new. What was the reason?

[SHELEST] The people, the Party members, who clearly saw that you can't get expect changes using old monotonous patterns. We had strong top leaders in the Oblast Committees: in Donetsk - Degtyarov, in Voroshilovgrad - Shevchenko, in Poltava - Pogrebnyk, in Kharkov - Ivashchenko, in Kherson - Kochubey. Because of their tendency toward reform, to a creative approach, a number of them later became undesirable. Reformation in those days were not accepted on national scale. That's where problems and troubles came from for those who "stuck their necks out". Non-acceptance of innovation reigned. Innovation was termed harmful independent activity.. This was the heritage of the Stalin years.

When I was first secretary of the Kiev Oblast Committee of the Communist Party, the machine and tractor stations (MTS) were in existence. In accordance with directives, collectives were obligated to use their services. In

what was then the Byshivskyy region, a certain Barylovych was the head. The collective had enough oxen, horses, plows. So the head refused the services of the MTS. He was brought to the regional Party office. I was present at the meeting. They labeled Barylovych as being against mechanization and an insurrectionist. This because he fulfilled the quota in grain production and managed to give the collective workers each 800 grams of grain per day, while the region as a whole did not meet the quota. It was decided to give no more than a quarter of a kilo of grain per day to each person. This is how they squelched any glimmering of initiative, independence and just simple common sense. I defended Barylovych.

[RADYANSKA UKRAYINA] Was it an emotional response?

[SHELEST] It was rather a manifestation of being birds of one feather. More than once, I had been admonished for the same reason. But I continued in the same tone. Seemingly, I "didn't know any better".

Once I went to Odessa, to meet with the head of the collective, Tur, who later became quite famous. I went without giving the regional committee advance notice, taking with me an assistant in agriculture. At the time, the directive was in force to get rid of fallow fields, and acreage in summer grasses, and to plant one third of all arable land in corn. I said to Tur I wanted to see the planting plans. But he insisted on going to the fields first. The wheat was like a sea and the corn and peas looked good too. Again, I asked about the plans, but he dragged me to vineyards. And then he disappeared.

I went to the head agronomist and said, "Give me the plans." I found out that Tur had forbidden to show the books to anyone, "even if Khrushchev himself asked for them". I forced the issue. What I saw was the plan for planting was the same as before the directives. Just about then, Tur reappeared. I asked what he thought he was fooling around with, since the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR had made voted for the directives. And he answered, "I can't do as directed. I am giving you 45 hundredweights of grain per hectare, the same amount of corn from 16 percent of the fields; I give you five and a half thousand kilograms milk per cow... I give you everything. Give me at least an opportunity to run my business." Finally, I said to him: "I was never here, I didn't see a thing."

Since we mentioned the "corn fields", I want to explain. It was not Khrushchev who compromised corn; after all, he coined the slogan, "without corn we will perish". Nevertheless, planting corn without taking into account regional conditions was the performance of toadies and blind followers.

[RADYANSKA UKRAYINA] What do you perceive as the main factors in the disturbing decline among our population in the concepts of "decency", "responsibility", "honesty"?

[SHELEST] That is a very broad question. I consider the decline in many moral concepts to be direct results of the Brezhnev style with its cult of more than one "truth", universal lies and legalized hypocrisy. These were practiced to an unbelievable degree and by some people to the point of spiritual bankruptcy. In the name of perestroika, it is necessary to renew, confirm the force of honest, conscientious work, and high individual expectation of oneself. Democracy should give way to self discipline, high morality, ethical behavior. If ethics are appropriate, there will be decency and honesty. It is very important to rekindle patriotic feelings among our people. They are a basic factor in morality and citizenship.

[RADYANSKA UKRAYINA] It is no secret that our young generation, in step with the others, has reached a crisis state. Are we repeating old problems in our dealings with the young?

[SHELEST] Today's youth has little trust in words; the young have a tendency to search, to intellectual thought. They are acutely aware of their own detachment from national interests. This also is a product of recent decades. Let me say that in my comsomol youth, I felt a kinship to the stance of the Soviets of the newly formed State. In fact, I joined the comsomol in 1923. We were taught political economics according to Bukharin, and hadn't heard yet of Stalin. We stood for world revolution, worked to insensibility, and persistently strived towards high ideals.

Today it is common knowledge, that somewhere, we lost the connection between generations. Today's youth becomes politically educated very quickly. But political culture is visibly lacking. Aims are diluted, ideals, deformed. Moreover, someone is hinting at abandoning everything and under the pretence of removing "white stains" in history. Recently I wrote to the journal "KOMMUNIST": "To change or even falsify history is a crime before the nation. Such nihilism and disorder causes a loss of young people, or at least loses their support. We can't allow the moral and spiritual defeat of our youth."

We are convinced today that the young need to be told the truth about the past, but the truth about everything - the bad and the heroic. At the same time we should support young people with our trust, encourage them, link them to political and national activities. They should have more independence.

[RADYANSKA UKRAYINA] Petro Yukhymovych, our rather lengthy conversation is in Ukrainian. We won't deny our curiosity in how you maintained your good command of it. You have been living in Moscow for almost 18 years. We are curious even though we know that you were an enthusiastic supporter of national culture and language. Today, our language, having experienced suppression during the Brezhnev era as part of the discrimination of people who had differing opinions

or who were "nationalists", has gained a fair chance of revival and confirmation within the Republic. You know about the passage of the law "On languages of the Ukrainian Socialist Republic", which gave the Ukrainian language national status. The example of governing bodies of the Republic is exemplary. The recent sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Socialist Republic, and the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party have been held in Ukrainian.

[SHELEST] I am very pleased about this, because there was a time when we were reprimanded for our "Ukrainianism". At one of the meetings of the politburo the Central Committee of the USSR, Suslov asked, "Why are there banners in the Ukraine in some sort of linguistic medley?" He was referring to our language. I couldn't keep quiet and asked in return, "Should they be in Turkish or some other language?" I added that Suslov's reference to our language in this manner was an insult to the Ukrainian culture and the people of the Republic.

I also want to add that, among the issues which you brought to my attention, the most important is that it is the communists who are setting the example in our rebirth.

[RADYANSKA UKRAYINA] Our next question is probably inevitably part of every interview. How does Mr. Shelest, the private pensioner, spend his time? What are his future plans?

[SHELEST] I am a member of the checking and revision committee (previously it was called the party committee), and the Krasnopresnensky regional committee of the Party of Moscow. I work on Party membership, personnel matters, and oversee the compliance to party decisions. This work with people enables me to know their moods, to sense the political climate. It is very disconcerting that more members are leaving the party than joining it. But we do see a positive aspect in this. A cleansing of the party is occurring which is not mandated from above, but as a natural process. We are getting rid of "ballast". At the same time, we are happy with the preparedness of new members. They are politically educated people who are aware of social conditions. They are willing to lend a hand in order to work on them with the Party. I am confident that in several years, today's replacements in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will be proud that they joined the party in a time of trial.

Some of my plans are being realized. I am working on memoirs, a trilogy: "The Conspiracy" ["Zmova"], (about the October plenary session of the Communist Party of the USSR in 1964), "Intrusion" ["Vtorgnennya"] (Czechoslovakia, '68), and "The Crash" ["Krakh"] (the politics and consequences of stagnation). The first of the trilogy is ready to go to print. I take this work very seriously because I am convinced that for every "historical Monday", it is important for people to know about the preceding "Saturday".

Pro-Lithuanian, Anti-Pamyat Demonstrations Viewed

90UN1527A Tallinn SOVetskaya ESTONIYA
in Russian 5 Apr 90 p3

[Article by Eteri Kekelidze: "Seances in Meeting Democracy"]

[Text] Moscow-Tallinn—If there is one thing available in Moscow now without excessive fuss it is pluralism of opinion.

You'll agree—when the "Fabric" store, so as not to be empty, stretches one piece of material across the entire display stand,

—when taxi drivers not only won't pick you up if you don't pay a little "on top" but won't even stop when you wave them down,

—when the endless line at MacDonald's on Pushkin Square in itself becomes a tourist attraction for the capital,

—the opportunity to buy the whole gamut of informal publications "on an equal footing," from the "patriotic" appeals of Pamyat to ANTI-SOVIET PRAVDA, becomes the sole opportunity for choice.

Could it really be that one has only the extremes to choose between today in Moscow? Does the slogan in chalk on a wall in the very center of the city, "Down with the Prisedent!"—illiterate but aggressive—actually reflect the state of mind of some portion of Muscovites? The meetings I attended last Saturday and Sunday give me some foundation for answering this question in the affirmative—yes, it does. But there is more than just extremes, there is a center as well, which so far, unfortunately, is not as strong as one might like.

I turn on the dictaphone and it's just as if I were back at those meetings. Someone is cut off in mid-word—economizing on tape, I tried to record what was most interesting, therefore I won't cite the speakers' names but will simply attempt to convey the atmosphere.

March 31, noon, Park of Culture—A sanctioned meeting in support of Lithuania. A few thousand have gathered. Lots of flags, mostly Lithuanian and the white-blue-red Russian, there is the Estonian blue-black-white, the Andreevskiy flag with the light blue oblique cross, the Ukrainian yellow-light blue, the black Anarchosyndicalist, the Belorussian white-red-white, and some others I don't know. The slogans cover the spectrum of opinions. "Stop the war of nerves," "We demand recognition of Lithuanian independence!" "Does our country need universal military service?" "Lithuania, who saved you from fascism?" "Lithuania's freedom is our freedom," "For the unity of the Union," "The Russian soldier is not a punisher," "Down with Stroybat, 20th century slavery," "Ukraina pide za Litvoyu," "We shall have a tri-color flag too," "President Bush! Time to recognize

the independence of Lithuania!" A boy of about 13 or 14 with a sign around his neck: "We've been disgraced enough! Hands off Lithuania!"

One slogan touched me personally very deeply with its romantic naivete: "Russians in the Baltic! Tomorrow you're going to live like Swedes and Finns. We envy you! Don't be fools!"

This meeting was organized by Moskovskaya Tribuna, the Russian Popular Front, Moscow's Memorial, Shchit [Shield] (a servicemen's social defense union), Demokraticheskii Soyuz [Democratic Union], the Union of Constitutional Democrats, the Moscow branch of Rukh.

To say that passions did not seethe here would be totally impossible. They did, and how. The meeting element whipped up emotions, which at times suffocated thought. Overall it was just like it usually is at meetings. One person garnered a storm of applause, another got drowned out by applause, as happened with an auditor from the Military-Political Academy, but he kept on shouting into the microphone nevertheless: "I too am for national self-determination, but why is the elected parliament in such a hurry, why is the cart preceding the horse?" His claim that the army never shot at unarmed people provoked a storm of indignation on the square.

Actually, the meeting's calmest basic idea was formulated by the chairman of Moskovskaya Tribuna [Moscow Tribune]: "Whose rights should we defend? The Lithuanians have made their choice, and I'm certain that they will be free, tanks are not going to help here. But there are other people who do need protection. We need to protect the Russians who live there—not from the Lithuanians but from the imperial aggressor image they are now being saddled with. If they are to go on living, protest must come from Moscow as well as tanks and troops. The Lithuanians have to see solidarity for them coming from Moscow as well as repression of their freedom. We have to defend our boys, who after Afghanistan and Baku are being thrown in there in order to do fill the job of punisher in addition to their job of soldier.... We must protect ourselves, our own honor and pride. The majority of us are not guilty of what happened 50 years ago, but we are guilty for what happened in 1968 because only ten people in the whole country said 'No!' We are guilty for what happened in Sumgait and Fergana, in Tbilisi and Baku. And if today we don't say 'Hands off Lithuania!' then we're going to be guilty of annexing one more free country.

"The defense of Lithuania is necessary not for Lithuania. The defense of Lithuania is necessary here for us, for Russia. For your freedom and ours!"

An associate of some informal publication went up to the microphone and told how KGB men had just beaten him up and tried to take away his camera. The square exploded with cries of "Down with the KGB!" A Georgian group reminded everyone of the impending sad anniversary of 9 April.

A representative of an Estonian cultural society told the audience about something they hadn't known: the Supreme Soviet of Estonia had approved Estonia's status for a transitional period and called on everyone to look to the future. As it happens, Estonia had in the past few days been absent from the television program VRE-MYA, and this announcement was truly news.

This meeting, it seemed to me, had several high points.

The first was when a doctor who works in a group that helps out in natural disasters announced the use in Baku of some very new types of arms, particularly weight-displaced bullets prohibited by international conventions, and as a sign of protest publically burned his draft card. (Cries from the crowd: "You took an oath!" "He took an oath to defend people, not to kill them!")

The second was when an appeal rang out: We can't do anything against the authoritarian dictatorship of Gorbachev we've been saddled with, but if he chose a presidential soviet of, say, Rasputin, Kryuchkov, Bakatin, and Yarin, then we would say no to that presidential soviet.

Right after this speech by the editor of one of the informal publications, People's Deputy Petrushenko requested the floor and was virtually chased off the dais. I have to say that he also started out on a high note, announcing to those gathered that he wanted to "begin with the word 'comrade,' which is rarely heard here, for what is heard more often is 'gentlemen.'" At this people started whistling at him, and the crowd shouted in response that what people say here isn't "gentlemen" but "brothers and sisters." "I understand that you want to hear the truth you want to hear," the deputy continued, but people wouldn't listen to him, even when he tried to talk about refugees. The deputy concluded his speech with the words: "It's too bad that a handful of loudmouths still think that they express the general interest. Thank you for your patience."

Deputy Petrushenko was told that he would do better to form a commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet to investigate the participation of the higher officer corps of the Soviet army in the narcotics trade during the Afghan war.

This was a normal meeting incident.

But in the heat of growing political momentum those gathered did not notice that they had chased off the dais a Lithuanian soldier who expressed his gratitude for their fervent support of Lithuania's freedom but asked them not to encourage desertion from the army because deserters were being caught and put in prison. And it wasn't the people shouting at them to desert that were in prison but the ones who did the deserting. What would be better would be for the Lithuanian men already serving to be legally discharged from the army.

No one listened to him. As has happened all too many times before, individual human fates pale before grandiose changes. The changes are thrilling. But this detail is scary. Can the concept of "the people" really be overshadowing the concept of "man" once more?

The meeting passed a resolution that begins: "The reaction of our country's leadership to Lithuania's declaration of independence has provoked alarm and protest among the democratic public. A massive campaign of intimidation has been unleashed against the people of Lithuania." In particular, the resolution demands that talks begin immediately between the government of the USSR and the government of the Lithuanian Republic on normalization of their political, economic, and humanitarian relations.

April 1, noon, near the Ostankino television tower—I'd received an invitation to this meeting the day before—someone shoved a sheet of paper in my hand: "Comrades, fellow citizens, fellow countrymen! It is a matter of our country's fate. Put aside your daily affairs for a few hours to participate in a meeting of solidarity with the internationalists and the Russian-speaking population of the Baltic... Participating in the meeting will be USSR People's Deputies V. I. Alsnic, Ye. V. Kogan, and others. The meeting has been sanctioned by the Moscow Soviet. The Committee for Solidarity with the Internationalists and Russian-speaking Population of the Baltics. The Social Initiatives Fund. The Moscow Popular Patriotic Front (NPF)."

There were so few people that at first I thought that I was on the fringes of the basic mass of gatherers. But no. There was no basic mass at all, just as there was no crowd around the speakers. Those who had come had broken up into a few small groupings, and each was discussing something of its own while another speaker said something that I, who have been at many of our meetings, was already quite familiar with. There was no new information, just as there wasn't a single striking speech. A tired-looking Yevgeniy Kogan was peaceably explaining something to the people around him. No hysterics, quiet and businesslike. Posters hung from the fence: "Patriots of the Union—to the popular patriotic front!" "For Russia's resurrection!" "For the unity of the Russian people." Nothing else. Alongside: "Guidelines of the popular patriotic front," which indicate that its "purpose and ideal is the creation of a stable, developing society based on genuine popular rule," and its "principles: at the base of the NPF's activity lie the universal values and traditions of the Russian nation and the Russian people."

On sale are the newspapers INTERDVIKHENIYE, ESTONII, PULS TUSHINA, and others. A collection is being made for the Solidarity fund (to aid refugees, the homeless, the unemployed). Lithuanian television and the program VZGLYAD (View) are working. There are getting to be fewer and fewer people. By 13:20, when they started voting on the resolution, there were so few

you could count them. Which I did. 146—perhaps a few more, people were moving around, going from group to group.

For me this meeting was noteworthy because at it I met representatives of Pamyat. They were selling their publications. I bought them. Pamyat warned me: Don't allow any provocations—and then more about how the Jews themselves dreamed up the Jewish pogroms. I asked the person selling, a very young boy with a nice face and nice eyes:

"Do you believe in this or are you just selling?"

"I work in it," he replied.

"In what?"

"In the organization."

"In what organization?"

"Pamyat."

"But why Pamyat in particular? There are others working for the resurrection of Russia. What drew you specifically to Pamyat?"

"Russia is being insulted. And this organization is patriotic and nationalist," the boy replied. And his face became impenetrable.

And I thought that in his own way he was right, however strange that sounds. He was proceeding from the awareness that his Homeland, in which he was accustomed to taking pride, was being plundered and humiliated. That feeling had induced him to take action, and here someone had explained to him in simple, accessible language who was guilty. Not "what"—the system—but "who"—people of a specific nationality. It's much more understandable and accessible that way. Unfortunately, any national movement bears within it that danger—seeking enemies in outsiders. And this boy with the nice face and nice eyes could easily become a force directed against those who, in his opinion, were guilty of humiliating Russia.

I was able to speak at much greater length with other representatives of the patriotic front. I walked up to him, hearing him hawk his wares, the newspaper PULS TUSHINA: "Here you have the whole truth about who needs pogroms." True, he did agree to an interview, having demanded, in the first place, proof that I am from Estonia and, in the second, my nationality—what is it?

It's interesting that he himself was a Mari by nationality and was active in Mari society and in Russian patriotic organizations because patriots are internationalists, and they include people of various nationalities. In the spring he participated in a peace march in Tallinn in support of the "Russian-speaking refugees," as he put it, and they were "insulted" there when they marched with the Russian flag.

He believes that the rights of all peoples have been encroached upon, and all because the nations are not represented proportionally in the parliaments of the country and the republics.

"And this newspaper you're selling with the motto 'Russia will shake off its slumber,' why do you like it?"

"This PULS TUSHINA is a rayon newspaper, one of the first Russian patriotic newspapers of the Moscow rayons. There is one other patriotic paper called VYBOR, in Kirovskiy Rayon. The rest are cosmopolitan newspapers, which do not express the interests of Russia, the Russian people, or other peoples."

"How do you feel about the statement heard in the crowd by a Pamyat member to the effect that a Zionist regime has existed in the country since 1917?"

"It has. And it did before 1917, too." And he recited from memory a text about Zionism in Russia, starting with the Basil conference.

"Tell me, do Jews have the right to rights? What do you think?"

"Yes they have the right to equal rights, and that's what we're fighting for: so that a given percentage of nationalities get a given percentage of the posts."

"What, in your opinion, is more important: a person's national identification or his personal qualities?"

"There can't be any personal qualities without nationality. Without nationality there can't be anything; everything is based on national patriotism."

Oh, nationalism, who are you going to unload your sins on?

People crowded around us, all shouting—one shouting that he's right and nationality supersedes everything, another objecting, giving the human in man its due. Some woman whispers hotly in my ear that this isn't the whole truth, and besides the Jews, the USSR is occupied by people brainwashed by long-distance control.

Who's sick? Who's healthy?

If the Russians in the Baltic need help, then what kind?

"Can't you write the truth about PULS TUSHINA at home in Estonia? That's Black Hundredism what they're writing (for instance, that the writers in the Central House of Writers nearly beat themselves up). They feel perfectly fine and confident."

I turn around and see a young man. There's concern in his eyes. I understand him. I understand why it is today in Russia that an anti-Fascist committee is being formed in Russia—if this turbid hall gets whipped up, it's not going to shake everyone's hand.

And I recall the illiterate but aggressive appeal "Down with the prisedent!"

People are dissatisfied with the president today, rightists and leftists both.

Lord! Grant him strength and good advisers!

Orthodox Appeal to Rukh to Ease Religious Tensions

90UN1645A RADYANSKA UKRAYINA IN Ukrainian
31 Mar 90 p 3

[Collective appeal by the clergy and believers of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church issued from Lviv and Kiev: "An Appeal-Protest from Ukrainians of the Orthodox faith to the People's Movement [Rukh] for Rebuilding [Perebudova] and its leaders, writers, deputies, as well as all of our brothers and sisters, who are members of Rukh"]

[Text] We, the representatives of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, including the clergy and laymen from Lviv oblast, as well as from Kiev and Kiev oblast, have been compelled to appeal to Rukh; to appeal to you, our brothers and sisters: leaders, Ukrainian writers, deputies, and to all Orthodox believers who are members of Rukh. Recent, distressing events for Ukrainians of the Orthodox faith in Galicia, which also have a considerable bearing to Rukh, provoked this need to act. We are not bringing a document to you, but the tears and grief of hundreds of thousands of your Orthodox countrymen.

Not so long ago the majority of Orthodox people in Ukraine struggled to firmly establish Rukh; they greeted its birth and its recognition. We placed our high hopes on Rukh, which formed as a **popular** organization, which could give our life a new and good direction. And we have still not ceased to hope that on account of Rukh's activity, the native Ukrainian language will be reborn amidst our people, and that in all his greatness and genius, the immortal Kobzar [Taras Shevchenko] and all the other giants of Ukrainian thought will be reborn. We hope our Dnipro-Slavutych, Dniester, and all large and small rivers and lakes will flow full of clean water; that the Earth—our Mother, ravaged by imprudent "progress" will be cleansed and revive; and that all of our grievous problems will heal and improve.

We are not ceasing to hope that our Rukh will promote the unification of the people into one family, and not sow discord among the people; that Rukh will render a service in the rebirth of all that is good, great, genuine, truly Ukrainian in our land.

And it would be a terrible sin, if our current suppositions were to be applied to all of Rukh, to all its ranks. There were, there are, and there will remain thousands of good people in Rukh, who are deserving of our people's honor and respect.

However, with displeasure and grief we, the Orthodox Ukrainians of Galicia, must admit, that some representatives of Rukh have not acted in accordance to their high calling and office. With great tendentiousness and

one-sidedness, departing from the regular extent of duties performed by Rukh members, they have taken measures, as if doctors of theology, to decide the fate of religion for our people. Instead of initiating with all its powers, a rebuilding process [perebudova] in community life, they have begun a rebuilding process in the church, which exists in our Ukraine already two millennium and which was founded by God Himself, Jesus Christ. And such a "rebuilding" of the church in its initial stages, already bears signs of destruction, and our Rukh is itself turning into a religious party clearly showing its true Greek-Catholic colors.

We do not want to accuse some representatives of Rukh that they remained silent for decades, even when a multitude of atheists threatened Orthodox priests with disgrace, brutality, insolence. Moreover, many of today's "defenders of the faith" from Rukh were members of the party, representatives of militant atheism; they were enemies of religious values, as well as the church in general.

They will say, perhaps—those were the times—so let God be their judge. But after all they were silent, when this Orthodox priest was murdered physically and morally, and even spiritually. And people attest, how often in those evil times, it was the Orthodox priest, pursued and beaten, as if crucified at his own church doors, who saved the people from the evil of arbitrary, authoritarian rule and destitution.

Hundreds of thousands of representatives of the Orthodox clergy, monks and secular clergymen of the Orthodox Church, perished in Siberia, on the Solovky Islands, and at the White Sea canal. Millions of Orthodox people lay down their own lives on this sacrificial altar in the times of Stalin and Ezhov. And until almost recently, the Orthodox priest has not seen an open door to the light of learning; and, it is a great pity, that he does not see it even today in Galicia.

It would appear to an observer that now the best possibilities have arisen again, like the fruits of those millions of human sacrifices. However, the Orthodox Ukrainian priest, our clergy is once again without rights, once again covered with slander and contempt. Once again fanatics of the Eastern-rite [Ukrainian Catholics] are crucifying the Orthodox priests in the Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Ternopil oblasts.

Urged forward by informal associations (the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, the Committee in Defense of UKTs [the Ukrainian Catholic Church]), and especially by Rukh representatives, they [the Ukrainian Catholics] are forcibly, without the Orthodox Ukrainians' assent, illegally seizing churches, taking them, as if they were enemy fortresses, in order to attain their goal: to completely destroy the Orthodox faith of St Vladymyr and Taras Shevchenko in western Ukraine. The issue here is not the legalization of the Eastern-rite Catholic Church, but a true religious genocide of Ukrainians of the Orthodox faith.

The Orthodox Church bears it; the Orthodox people's tears are streaming in Galicia; and it seems to us, that not the fanatical Uniates, nor their spiritual leaders from the informal unions, but hell itself, with all its power, planned this!

Our Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the times of Sts Volodymyr and Yaroslav Mudry satisfied our people's religious needs. The goal of the Church of Christ is to save the immortal soul of a person through praying and fasting. This is the most significant matter. But today we, Orthodox Ukrainians, are facing a real threat of being deprived of our common prayer in God's church; and, it is a great pity, that a considerable number of Rukh representatives bear the blame for such sufferings of ours.

Incited by Rukh's Lviv section of representatives, Eastern-rite Catholic extremists have turned the clock back to the sixteenth century, to the religious conflicts of the Middle Ages; for the events of that time, when Galicia was under Polish rule, are similar to those of today. Then Ukrainians of the eastern Orthodox faith were called—"cattle" and "schismatics"; and today some of us, Galicians of the Orthodox faith, a faith of saints from the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev, of prince Volodymyr and the Kobzar, are being called "muscovites", communists, KGB agents, atheists, godless ones, foreigners, occupiers—everything which a hostile mind can invent and an evil tongue can express. We are called invaders, because we are the descendants of our grandfathers and parents, who were Galicians; we are praying in the churches they prayed in.

One more matter. We, the believers of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church want to define our position thoroughly in regard to autocephaly, because it is being discussed in Rukh's program.

Bad is the Ukrainian, who does not want his own native church to exist freely. And we all aspire to this goal, but not at some other church's expense. For every Orthodox believer, if he is truly orthodox, there are some sacred truths, which cannot be transgressed: the apostolic rules and regulations of holy ecumenical councils. Only within the framework of such councils, can the question of independence for any given part of the church be decided.

As church history attests, non-canonic, that is, rules declared in opposition to rules proclaimed by the church, engender divisions and divisiveness, not only in the church's bosom, but also for decades and even centuries among the people. We see such a situation exists now for the Ukrainian diaspora in Canada, where there already are three completely separate Ukrainian "autocephalous" churches, whose believers do not associate with each other during High Mass.

It saddens us that our people and our family are separating; that sacred objects are being stolen, that our people's soul is being torn apart. Is it possible that this awaits even us in our Ukraine? And that is why, we

Ukrainians of the Orthodox faith, appeal to you, Rukh—do not add fuel to the fire, because the resulting destruction shall be on your conscience; so do not encourage evil, or any acts which bring us closer to ruin. Leave a good word in Ukraine's history for yourself. For, as our Lord told Jesus Christ: "True good shall be known by its harvest."

We turn to Ukrainians—writers, community activists, deputies—members of Rukh with a plea to speak out against the extremists' use of violent force against religion, to defend the Orthodox Ukrainians of Galicia and their churches. Do not remain silent, because at this time for us, the Orthodox of Ukraine, silence can become a sign of your assent to violence and illegality.

We turn to you, because we believe, with your great moral authority, you can influence those, who call themselves members of Rukh in Galicia; you can invite them to step on the path of peace, rather than to remain hostile to their own people.

The stamp of God's blessing is evident throughout the entire universe. May it please God, that our Ukrainian Rukh will have occasion for God to bless it. Stand firm with the people not only with your words, but also with your actions—actions which have something in common with all Ukrainians and to non-Ukrainians—our children of this land of ours—Ukraine.

Rukh Meets to Commemorate Carpathian Independence

90UN1634A Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA
in Ukrainian 29 Mar 90 p 3

[Article by I. Sidey: "Unity or Discord?"]

[Text] The more actively and carefully we thoroughly study our early and recent history, the more we shall bring to light its little-researched pages, and even completely unknown pages. But the task itself of recognizing such pages from history is not proceeding very smoothly. On the one hand, one comes across common views established not so long ago of this or that event; on the other hand—one comes across a desire to at any cost simplify previous views, even if this means violating standards of scholarly objectivity. We see only one way out from this situation: to the greatest possible extent, compare various points of view on important historical facts, remembering that in evaluation of these facts, no one should possess a monopoly on truth.

In the few days prior to the events, which will be referred to later, a printed announcement appeared in conspicuous places in Uzhhorod, which began with the words: "On March 24 and 25, 1990, in Transcarpathia, in Khust, Rukh will conduct a visiting, all-republic session of the Higher Council of Rukh, devoted to the notable events in the history of the Ukrainian people—the declaration on March 15, 1939 of the independence of the Ukrainian nation—Carpatho-Ukraine." The rest of

the announcement presented the session's program and other preparations related to it.

Before I carefully looked this program over, quite a few people stopped in front of the announcement and stood alongside of me. They reacted to it in various ways. Some showed an interest and even a satisfaction with it. Others, in contrast, became outspokenly indignant about it, as if to say, one may see in this yet one more "nationalistic gathering". And most passersby, were of the type, especially the younger people, who silently shrugged their shoulders or surprisingly exclaimed: "And did we really have such a nation?"

In fact, the events, which took place in Transcarpathia during the period from October 1938 to March 1939 have until recently become clarified very grudgingly, and, as a rule, one-sidedly, without taking into account the sum total of all former conditions and factors. Thus these tragic events remain a blank spot in our history, even today for many Transcarpathians, not to mention at the same time inhabitants of other Ukrainian oblasts. And here one now sees an attempt to liquidate this blank spot. On March 24, scholars spoke at a session, as well as well known men of letters, representatives of community and informal organizations from many oblasts of the republic, and living participants and witnesses of the events during 1938-1939. Practically speaking, none of these speakers denied the fact that having arisen as an autonomous entity on the torn apart ruin of the bourgeois nation of Czechoslovakia—the subsequent so-called independent Carpatho-Ukraine—became the object of a complicated international political game, a bargaining chip among many nations. The leaders' policy of this tiny "nation" was very contradictory and inconsistent, indeed, even flawed. In addition to these points, scholars and other speakers emphasized that the events during 1938-1939 should be regarded as a spontaneous, blazing flare up of national self-consciousness of a large part of the indigenous transcarpathian population, which had always gravitated towards unity with their brothers to the east, with Ukraine. According to Prof P. Chuchka and other scholars, this fact can even today serve as an answer to those of our countrymen, who in recent times began declaring, that they are not Ukrainians, but Ruthenians, who even began to turn their attention toward the Czechoslovak border.

The participants of the visiting session also undertook formulating a new view on the Carpatho-Ukraine Riflemen of the Sich, who, actually, constituted Carpatho-Ukraine's army. The Riflemen of the Sich were mostly made up of youngsters from Transcarpathia and neighboring Galicia, who understood politics poorly, but sincerely aspired to render a service to the Ukrainian people. Poorly prepared and without almost any arms, they made a heroic stand in resisting the regular units of the Hungarian, fascistic army. Consequently, it was emphasized during the session, that one cannot call people, nationalistic bandits, who knowingly went to their death, defending their native land from fascistic invaders. These youngsters can be truly regarded as

heroes. Those, who were not cut down by a bullet or bayonet, suffered long in the prisons of fascistic Hungary and pre-war Poland.

The participants of the session accepted a resolution that emerged from discussion, which specifically concerns the need to re-examine the official view of the above mentioned events and their participants. And the next day, on March 25, the local people and their guests, formed a joint column, and set out past the city limits to the area marked as and called the "Red Field", where fifty one years ago fighting between the Carpathian Riflemen of the Sich and the fascistic armies took place. Afterwards, all the people present returned to the city and assembled in front of Khust High School No 1 where in March 1939 an independent Carpatho-Ukraine was declared. A memorial board concerning this event appeared on the building's facade. I would like to make one important circumstance clear. There were present during the visiting session's work as well as in all its related preparations together with Ukrainians, Russians and people of other nationalities, representatives of the Society of Hungarian Culture in Transcarpathia and even emissaries from Budapest. They also paid their respects to the memory of the Riflemen of the Sich, placing a wreath of flowers on their brothers' grave. They explained their act thus: "We do not want our Ukrainian brothers to identify us, Hungarians, with those fascistic, cut-throats, who came to this land to pillage it."

It is a great pity, that some of the speakers' speeches at the session, as well as its meetings, there was quite a bit said, which in no way accords with the lofty word unity. It is not difficult, for example, to imagine the mood of the people present at the session who were Russians (one of whom, apropos to the point, is a USSR people's deputy), who not long after their passionate welcome speeches, heard from this same tribune: "Let the muscovites meet in Moscow." To be sure, the Hungarian representatives felt no better, when one of a former Rifleman of the Sich, recounting the tragic events from fifty years ago, suddenly said, as if firing a shot: "It's a pity, we could not have finished off all those Hungarians." One also cannot agree with others, those, who have tried in recent days to fully rehabilitate all the participants of the events from the years 1938-1939, without exception, forgetting about the fact that these events are fixed not only in archival documents, but in the memory of living eyewitnesses as well. No one can ever simplify the fact that among the political leaders of Carpatho-Ukraine, there really were adventurers and hirelings, who were not at all troubled about their people's fate.

It came to the point that one had to listen to completely unsubstantiated, even provocative statements. Once again petty, malicious attacks against the politics of the party and government resounded, as well as threats addressed to the communists and "those people with differing views". Some of the extremists and demagogues tried to publicly even their scores with the official press. These "speakers" only argument was a brutal diatribe, which attested not only to their lack of culture,

but also to their complete moral degradation. Well now, it seems, everyone understands democracy and glasnost in his own way.

So thus the Rukh organized and conducted preparations in the stop over in the transcarpathian city of Khust, which could have and should have encouraged the consolidation of the progressive powers of rebuilding, of all levels and groups of the people of Ukraine, but became instead one more opportunity for some participants of this stop over, to look for enemies and intensify confrontation, to exacerbate hostilities among people of different nationalities and between communists and non-party members. It seems that the leaders and activists of Rukh have still not understood, that this does not augment their authority; that it seriously slows down the process of rebuilding itself, which with words, are they so passionately in the process of rescuing?

Lvov's Political Life Profiled

90UN1554A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian

[Article by G. Golub, SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA correspondent: "Firsthand Report: What Is Happening in Lvov?"]

[27 March 90, p 3]

[Text] Of course, this question could be asked about many of our country's regions and cities. Virtually every day television brings us unexpected news, mentioning familiar places like the Don Basin or Yarkuta, or naming places which were hitherto unknown to the majority of us, for example Uzen, where extraordinary events are occurring.

How does this news get to us from our country's hot spots? Does not part of the information get lost along the way or, on the contrary, is it not filled out with conjecture and legend? This is not a rhetorical question: from our own experience we know how eagerly people cling to every word about the Baltic republics in the central newspapers or on the "Vremya" news program.

Therefore today we are publishing a report from someone who witnessed the events in Lvov during one week in March, during elections to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and local offices.

I grew up in Lvov. Right downtown, a few steps away from the Adam Mickiewicz monument, the Latin Cathedral, the Bernardine Church and the Church of the Transfiguration. In the evenings it seemed that the air was thick with the ringing of church bells. And along the broad boulevard of chestnut trees leading to the Opera Theater a chain of antique gas streetlights cast a bluish glow in the wake of the old lamplighter.

Those were my childhood impressions. Later, as a student, I discovered all of Lvov's charms: its severe Gothic architecture, the opulence of its Baroque, and the pretentiousness of its Modern, with streets and little corners where no two houses are alike, and every house is

deliberately asymmetrical, so that nothing in it repeats... "And there is no trade which the people of Lvov could not master," wrote a poet and chronicler about his city in the 17th century. Thus was the city of my youth preserved in my memory, as a model of architectural perfection, clean and well-kept.

But time passed, and it definitely was not kind to the city. Garlands of colored light bulbs took the place of the antique street lamps. The decorative groupings and portraits made of flowers for which Lvov's gardeners had been famed disappeared from the parks. The parks themselves started looking bare, with green lawns disappearing under well-trodden footpaths. Most of all, the city grew rapidly. Designed for a population of 250,000-300,000, it is now approaching the one-million mark. The seven picturesque hills upon which Lvov stands are now ringed by industrial enterprises and new housing complexes. Yet all the main transportation routes still run through the medieval heart of the city... Water resources have long since been exhausted, and for many years now the water has been turned on only from 6:00-9:00 in the morning and the evening, and you are lucky if there is any water even at those times...

This is what is visible at first glance, on every visit to Lvov. Just like the traffic jams in which one can waste a whole hour, the empty stores—meat can only be purchased here at the private market or from cooperatives, and to get milk you have to know where to go and when, and then stand in line... And if you dig a little deeper you will find out about the quietly looming ecological threat: there are five places in the region, including some almost inside the city limits, where radioactive waste is buried. And you will find out about the not-too-distant postwar period, which people preferred not to talk about until now...

Now people have started talking aloud about all of these things at once.

Hyde Park

This un-Russian word has become popular in many of our cities. People need a place where they can speak their minds and find someone with whom to discuss things. In Lvov that place is a little spot in the center of the city on Lenin Boulevard. There used to be a flower bed there (for that reason people will sometimes say "let's go to the flower bed"). Now there is a stone there at the site of a monument to be erected to Taras Shevchenko. At the moment only his portrait is there, decorated with embroidered cloths, wreaths and flowers. On 9-10 March the whole Ukraine celebrated Shevchenko Days, and here at the stone a requiem mass was held and people sang "Zapovit" and brought flowers...

All around there are handwritten appeals to vote (or the opposite—not to vote) for someone. Invitations to rallies in some village or another. A neatly drawn work schedule for the erection of the Shevchenko monument (the design was selected competitively and has just been

approved). An old man with hand-sewn church pennants. Next to him a young man selling xerox copies of the independent newspaper MOLODA UKRAINA. At its tables the Sobriety Society tries to frighten people away from nicotine and alcohol. The Committee To Create Ukrainian Armed Forces invites people to sign up. The Pushkin Russian Society announces a Shevchenko requiem mass. Several women, obviously from the country, study a list of Rukh candidates who won in the elections. A little boy tugs at his mother's hand and asks: "Who did you vote for?" In rain and in sunny weather, in the piercing March wind, crowds of people gather here...

In order to understand all the diversity of the Lvov area's social and political life we must take a look at the history leading up to present-day events.

For many centuries the Western Ukraine (Galicia or Galichina) was passed back and forth. In 1918 the Western Ukrainian People's Republic was established. It lasted less than a year but endures in the people's minds as a freedom state. Its symbols were a yellow and light-blue flag bearing a trident, and its defenders were the Sech Rifles, who had previously served in the Austrian Army.

After Poland occupied the Western Ukraine a people's resistance movement began in the Western Ukrainian lands. In 1929 the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) was formed, an outgrowth of which was the movement which later became known as the Bandera. In 1939 Red Army troops entered Lvov under the terms of the "Ribbentrop-Molotov pact," and the Western Ukraine suffered the same fate as the Eastern Ukraine. Then came the war and German occupation, with the OUN for a time collaborating with the fascists and then later fighting on two fronts, both against the Germans and against Soviet forces. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was created in 1942 and did not lay down its arms for 10 years.

I did not get this information from a history textbook. It cannot be found there. We grew up hearing about the cruelty of the Bandera men and about gangs of cutthroats who hampered the building of a new, happy life. The OUN was like a litmus test of one's knowledge of history and attitude toward it.

"What sort of attitude could I have?" said Ganna Stetsiv, LENINSKA MOLOD correspondent, her smile fading into a calm, steady gaze. "When the Red Army entered Lvov in 1939 OUN boys and local residents greeted them with flowers, in hopes of a new, free life. But then the arrests and the exile to Siberia began. Therefore in 1944 they—those who had survived, and those who had joined them—met the troops with weapons in their hands, even though they had no hope of victory. I regard those people as national heroes."

This was the reply given by Bogdan Goryn, Ukrainian Supreme Soviet deputy: "The Insurgent Army held out for 10 years. It was not a gang, it was a force supported

by the people. Of course cruelty provoked cruelty, and no one is attempting to justify that. Both criminals and those who wanted to settle personal scores also wormed their way into the movement. There were also provocations carried out by the NKVD—the first articles on that subject have already been published. But overall I feel that this struggle in the midst of the Stalinist era was to the credit of the Ukrainian people."

One more opinion, that of Viktor Volkov, Lvov Party Gorkom first secretary: "How can I have an opinion about those events if I do not have reliable information? We used to believe only in black and white. Now we are reassessing history and filling in the gaps. One may agree or disagree, but one should start with real historical events, about which we still do not know everything. Incidentally, the slogans of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic (economic autonomy, independence and development of the Ukrainian language and culture) are very similar to those which are being proclaimed today."

So there are the answers. There is also a second issue, no less painful: that of church affairs. On Central Television everyone heard about (but did not see) the takeover of churches by Greco-Catholics and the death of an Orthodox priest.

"What takeover?" exclaims Bishop Yulian at the Church of the Transfiguration. "Look: nothing has been broken or broken into anywhere. The procuracy has already looked into that... What actually happened? During the sermon a young priest mentioned the name of the Pope of Rome, who is revered by the Greco-Catholic Church. The worshippers had long been waiting for this and gratefully listened to the sermon. Later, after hearing what had happened, Greco-Catholics came to the church with priests who had already held services on the street outside many times. Our Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church no longer has any churches of its own. For 44 years worship services have been held underground, in people's homes. And that was all there was to the 'takeover'... As for the death of Orthodox priest Vasilii Bochalo, it was not a case of murder. He died of a heart attack. The flock had repeatedly asked that he come over to the Greco-Catholic Church (UKTs), like many other priests (over 300 in the Lvov region already), but he refused. He got in his car, began feeling ill, and died in the hospital."

Ivan Gel, chairman of the UKTs Defense Committee, talked about something else: the overt provocations aimed at Greco-Catholics. In Gorodetskiy Rayon a priest was pelted with mud because he had come to perform a funeral service, in Sambor 34 Catholics were beaten up, and in Peremyshlyany a house was set on fire. Ivan Andreyevich Gel himself was beaten up, as was reported in the newspapers. His assailants remain unidentified.

And here is another opinion, that of Bogdan Goryn: "The Greco-Catholic Church is to be thanked for the fact that the people of Galicia preserved their language

(services here are conducted in Ukrainian), their culture and their traditions under every master, whether Austrian or Polish."

Of course, I would like to go into greater detail about the historical roots of these events, but can it all be told here? Nevertheless a brief overview. In the 10th century, at the time of the conversion of Kievan Rus, the Christian world stretched from Kiev to Rome. In the 11th century a schism occurred between East and West. Under the Brest Union of 1596 the Uniates (or Greco-Catholics) acknowledged the primacy of the Pope of Rome. For 350 years the people of Galicia lived by that faith, until in 1946 the UKTs was dissolved at a pseudo-synod arranged by the authorities with NKVD participation.

But a faith cannot be dissolved. It lived on underground. And now it has burst out into the open. Of course, everything is not so simple and clear-cut; one must delve deeply into the fine points of any conflict, especially a religious one, so as not to offend either party. And the authorities are in the process of doing so. One need only recall one recent church celebration—baptism by immersion—for which permission was granted both by the metropolitan and by the soviet and party authorities. That celebration served as a sort of referendum: 70,000 Greco-Catholics came, as well as 30,000 faithful from the autocephalous (independent) Ukrainian Orthodox Church and 10,000 Russian Orthodox. Church affairs, just like economic and political affairs, have begun to reflect the complexities of the present situation, a situation which can no longer be changed.

[28 March 90, p 3]

[Text] The *Shestidesyatniki*

The Goryn brothers are well known in the Lvov region. The older brothers—Mikheylo and Bogdan—have now become Ukrainian Supreme Soviet deputies. Mikheylo graduated from the Lvov University Logic and Psychology Department, while Bogdan graduated from the Philology Department at the same university and has since worked in museums. The youngest brother, Nikolay, has also been nominated as a candidate to a local soviet.

The brothers' popularity is the result of the hard and complex lives they have led. It was hard to catch up with them in all the commotion surrounding the elections. I finally managed to agree to meet with Bogdan Nikolayevich at his home. An ordinary building in an ordinary microrayon. A cramped apartment with the cabinets, tables and even the floor heaped with piles of newspapers, papers, files and books. The phone would ring now and then, and relatives would ask the callers to call back later. And Bogdan Nikolayevich told stories.

How had it all begun? With the first thaw, in which Lvov was an active participant, back in 1956. The brisk wind of freedom, truth about the gaps in our history, and plans for a revival of the nation. They—the journalists, historians and linguists—were all under the age of 30 or just

over 30, they were all talented, and they were all united and intoxicated by hope. They and their fellow thinkers were called *shestidesyatniki* [from the name of a group of Russian reforms of the 1860's].

But the thaw was followed by more frost. The frost, or rather the decay, intensified. There was no place whatsoever in it for either the national culture movement or for its political context. In the mid-1960's, in ordinary peacetime, there started to be "tipoffs" to the KGB, searches, arrests and closed-door trials of which people knew little. One of the first such trials was the April 1966 trial of the Goryn brothers, M. Osadchik and M. Zvarychevskaya. The outcome was years spent in the camps.

That trial was a turning point in the life of Vyacheslav Chornovol, a television journalist and graduate of Kiev University. After refusing to denounce his friends, he was thrown out of his last magazine job (he had been fired from television even earlier) and that summer was for the first time sentenced to forced labor. His books ("Justice or a Return to Terror?" and "Grief From the Mind") were published abroad in many languages, and for them he received an international prize established in England for journalists fighting for human rights (later he became an honorary member of PEN, the international writers' organization). In the summer of 1967 Chornovol was arrested and sentenced to three years in prison (thanks to an amnesty he served only half of this sentence). He continued his activities in defense of human rights and wrote a pamphlet on the nationalities question; in 1980 he began the illegal publication of the magazine UKRAINSKIY VESTNIK. In the winter of 1972 he was once again arrested, spent over a year in jail, went on trial in an empty courtroom and was sentenced to six years in jail plus three years of exile to Yakutia, where he continued to write and prepared a book on political prison camps in the post-Stalin era. In 1980 he received another five-year sentence, returning to Lvov in 1985.

In his Nobel Prize acceptance speech Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov listed some of the prisoners of conscience serving time in the camps, and among them were political prisoners from the Lvov region: Irina Kalynets-Stasiv, Vasil Stus (who died before he was released), Ivan Gel, Vyacheslav Chornovol, Igor Kalynets and many, many others. There in the camps they set up a Ukrainian Helsinki Group, an organization to fight for human rights.

"Yes, the majority of us, the *shestidesyatniki*, went through the school of prison and the camps," recalls Bogdan Goryn. "My brother and I were sent to the Mordvin ASSR, he to Camp No 1, I to Camp No 11. That was the same camp where Sinyavskiy and Daniel served their time. I was a friend of the latter. It is still painful for me to recall that he is no longer with us. A curious thing: we were sent to prison for 'anti-Soviet propaganda,' for so-called nationalism, yet the camp was

a wonderful school of internationalism where we established close relations with people from virtually everywhere in the Union—people from the Baltic republics, Armenians, Georgians, Tatars. They all had the same dream, and the same misfortune."

Rukh and the Others

With the beginning of restructuring yesterday's political prisoners began returning home. There was no hope of finding work in their specialized fields. Intellectuals became stokers, laborers, construction workers in little rayon construction administrations, and so on. But they did not dwell on their insults and misfortunes. On the contrary, they once again (for the umpteenth time!) threw themselves into the mainstream of the national-democratic movement and began to legalize the things that they had previously done underground.

Someone had the idea of trying to publish the latest issue of UKRAINSKIY VESTNIK, which for 17 years had been samizdat and had only been printed abroad. The journal's seventh issue appeared in August 1987, for the first time in Lvov. Its social editorial staff became the focus around which new democratic forces began to take shape. It was then that the idea came about of reviving the Ukrainian Helsinki Group on a legal basis. At first it had 10-20 members, mainly its former members who had remained loyal to its idea through political prison camps. But soon anyone who wanted to was pouring into the group.

Thus the Ukrainian Helsinki League (in Ukrainian UGS) was formed, with branches in various cities in the republic (the largest of which is in Lvov, with over 600 members). Levek Lukyanenko, a jurist and Moscow State University graduate, was elected chairman. At first he was elected in absentia: at the time he was still serving a five-year period of exile. That after a second prison sentence of 10 years (his first sentence had been 15 years). The league's basic goals were defined: to defend the rights of all oppressed and downtrodden people in the spirit of the Declaration of Human Rights and to struggle for the sovereign independence of the Ukraine.

UGS was the first of the new informal organizations in the Western Ukraine. In its wake several societies were set up at the same time: the Ukrainian Language Society imeni T. Shevchenko, the Memorial Society, the Charity Society, the Student Brotherhood, the Comradeship of the Lion, and the Free Ukrainian Youth League (SNUM). Special note should be made of the strike committee whose deputy chairman was Stepan Khmara, one of the most radical politicians. But the most massive of the organizations was the Ukrainian People's Rukh (movement) for Restructuring, which was established following the example set in the Baltic republics. Orest Vlokh, a university professor, was elected Lvov chairman of this organization.

Every one of these organizations needs people who have experience with political work. There were such people in UGS, which became a sort of cadre school. The

league's leaders also became members of other societies' leadership. Thus, Bogdan Goryn, chairman of the Lvov branch of UGS, is also a Rukh board member and a member of the Ukrainian Language Society council. Mikhaylo Goryn has been elected secretary of the Rukh Central Executive Committee and is now working in Kiev. Vyacheslav Chornovol is a member of the UGS Executive Committee and is also head of the Ukrainian Independent Publishing and Information League, a member of the Ukrainian Language Society's oblast council, co-chairman of the oblast Memorial Society, and member of the Rukh Great Council. And on it goes, for virtually every one of them. Everything is interwoven. Rukh has to a certain extent begun to express common ideas and goals, even though each society took shape independently.

It is not surprising that on the eve of the republic Supreme Soviet elections and elections to local positions all these organizations decided to form a single Democratic Bloc. Each organization put forward its own candidates (three for each position, just for safety's sake), but the overall direction (who, how many and from what district) was Rukh's job. On the day after the elections it became known that the first list of candidates recommended by Rukh had taken a majority of districts in the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet.

However, it should be noted that broad coverage of the Democratic Bloc's candidates was only provided in the newspaper LENINSKA MOLOD. Neither of the oblast party newspapers (in Ukrainian and in Russian) had a word to say about them. The people voiced their opinion of the youth paper's position: three correspondents, young people, nominated by the workers of various enterprises as candidates for local soviet deputy were elected, and editor M. Batig was elected to the Supreme Soviet.

Rukh's backing, as well as that of the UGS, was often of decisive significance to the candidates. I unexpectedly discovered that for myself when an old friend of Bogdan Goryn's, a television journalist and candidate for deputy in a local soviet, stopped by to see him. I would like to record their conversation practically verbatim:

"Listen, Bogdan, there are two of us left in the second round. My opponent is from Rukh. But I'm from Rukh, too! You yourself know how much I have done to help revive national culture. Sign here, saying that Rukh recommends me."

"I can't. That decision is up to the board. And I do not know which one of you will make a good politician, or whose interests you would protect. True, your television broadcasts were good. But whenever some higher-up appeared you seemed to be holding back."

"Bogdan, don't you remember how things used to be? And who was it that was not afraid to stand up for you when all the rest had abandoned you?"

"That's true, it was like that. But that has nothing to do with politics..."

The television journalist left, irritated, but Goryn just smiled sadly and threw up his hands, as if to say: what could I have said?

I asked who was the Democratic Bloc's main opponent in the elections. His answer was clear: the party apparatus. Just like that, in that impersonal form. It was not specific individuals who were losing; the bloc's members often gave them their due when it came to purely human qualities. They were hampered by the weight of responsibility for all the things that have been done under the aegis of the raykom, gorkom or obkom. What does it say about the unpopularity of candidates from the MVD, KGB or procuracy when the person who tried Chornovol's case over 20 years ago is presently procurator of Lvov?

"Still, I would not like to cast stones at every party official," said Bogdan Goryn. "In the election my opponent in the rayon where I was born was the raykom first secretary. A good person who tried to do something for his rayon. We reached an agreement right at the start: we would conduct ourselves like opponents across a chessboard, we would play fair and discuss things out in the open. But it was no discussion; he had no arguments to counter the facts which I cited. And the vote tally (77 percent for me and 11 percent for him) is not just a vote that went my way; it is a convincing victory by the new democratic movement over the system of stagnation."

[29 March 90, p 3]

[Text] **The View From the Gorkom Window**

Bogdan Goryn suggested that I talk with Viktor Aleksandrovich Volkov, Lvov Party Gorkom first secretary; Goryn recommended him as a person who soberly and rationally evaluated a situation and was inclined toward dialogue and convergence with the informal organizations.

The "Program for Revitalization of the Ukrainian and Other National Cultures in the City of Lvov," published on the eve of the elections, was confirmation of that convergence. It outlined detailed measures to revitalize intellectual life (language, culture, history, religion, science and education) and the cultures of ethnic minorities (Russians, Poles, Jews and Armenians), a mechanism for implementation of the program, and sources of funding. It was signed by the heads of the gorkom and gorispolkom and representatives of public organizations, the creative intelligentsia, national culture societies and informal organizations such as the People's Rukh, the Ukrainian Language Society, the Memorial Society, and the Comradeship of the Lion.

This program was the starting point for my conversation with Volkov.

[Golub] Viktor Aleksandrovich, at the last Ukrainian CP Central Committee plenum (on 22 February) a resolution was adopted opposing incitement of tension on the

basis of interethnic relations. Does this problem really exist in your republic as well?

[Volkov] There is nationalism in Lvov, but only on the domestic level. And that, as you are aware, is merely a reflection of a certain cultural level. Official policy, if I may term it that, is to render assistance with the development of the distinctiveness of all our region's ethnic cultures, and it was for that purpose that the program was drawn up. On this issue as well we are finding common ground with the leaders of the informal organizations.

[Golub] How do you feel about your election defeat?

[Volkov] Calm. What is surprising about it? People are tired and want a change. There was simply no point in defending the old system, and it did not even struggle to survive. As a result the Democratic Bloc received virtually all the seats in the Supreme Soviet. Yet only 20 percent of the seats in the oblast soviet were filled in the first round of voting. There were too many candidates (as many as 15 per seat made it through the first round), and too little information about each of them.

[Golub] Are you happy with the program being put forward by today's winners?

[Volkov] The campaign slogans promised a great deal. But there is something which alarms me: that those slogans might remain just that, slogans, or else become camouflage for the attainment of other objectives. I am also concerned about the excessive euphoria and the demonstration-oriented atmosphere. Little thought is being given to real life and the economy. The informal organizations are more concerned with symbolism, history and church issues. Naturally the dirty work is less flashy and less interesting.

[Golub] But that is the real world...

[Volkov] Yes, and life is very complicated. Our city is truly on the verge of crisis. The population is presently 815,000. As you are aware there is not enough water. And not a single new water source has been found. Yet the city continues to grow at the expense of rural areas; more and more new enterprises are being built. That means that even more water is needed, for plants and for new residential areas. How long can this go on? All these things are not decided here or even in Kiev, but in Moscow.

[Golub] But that point, i.e. decentralization, is discussed in Rukh's program.

[Volkov] I agree. Just as I agree that the party, which used to force, enforce and in the end decide economic matters, should turn over power to the soviets. The question is, to whom specifically? No real structures have been created yet; there is no law on local self-government. Restructuring is running on emotions and lacks sober calculation.

[Golub] What do you, as the chairman of the city authority, think about the so-called "flower bed"?

[Volkov] It has a right to exist. Aesthetically, of course, it is not very attractive. That is due to a lack of culture. Incidentally, people used to gather on the boulevard before, like the outdoor chess club or soccer fans. Now what we have is almost like Hyde Park. There is some element of the village meeting, the *toloka*, in it—after all, our city has grown as a result of migration from rural areas, as I already mentioned. Hence the almost country ways right in the heart of respectable Lvov, and the high percentage of believers. But I do not see anything seditious about that. Nor in the nationalist regalia: let them fly the yellow and blue flag. But let them also have a clear-cut program for fixing the economy. People's lives start there, not with symbols.

The whole week I spent in Lvov I kept comparing the things I saw there with what is happening in Estonia. Of course, in some ways we are already farther along. Many

problems (opinions on the OUN and the church confrontation) are purely local in nature. There were many things which I was not able to investigate (one week is simply not long enough). Perhaps there was something I missed, or something which I misinterpreted. But my main impression was the commonality of goals.

Like in our republic, what people are talking about is a free, economically independent Ukraine (presently 95 percent of its enterprises are under all-union control), plus decentralization of the economy—not just in Moscow, but also at the republic level, right down to autonomy for each enterprise—and a better environment, an end to the monopoly on information, the functions of the militia and the KGB, etc. And all the while people have in view a single indivisible Ukraine, as was attested to by the human chain linking Kiev and Lvov on the anniversary of reunification. Within the republic it seems to me that the Lvov region is in the vanguard of the struggle for the independent Ukraine of the future.

Work of Security Services Clarified

Secret Service Described

90UN1557A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Apr 90
Morning Edition p 4

[Anonymous letter: "Letter with Commentary: The Post of Militia Agent" and following that, interview with Sergey Dmitriyevich Zamoshkin, senior legal counselor, by A. Illesh; time, place, and date not specified]

[Text] Recently our newspaper [IZVESTIYA No 67, "Once Again on How a Murderer Was Caught"] for the first time raised the question in the open press of the existence and, most importantly, the vigorous activities of agents working in the country's internal affairs system. This article brought reader responses. Among the stream of letters there were also the opinions of militia employees. We acquaint our readers with one of them today.

"I will say it right off—I served in the emergency and extreme emergency service in the internal security forces, studied at a USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] school, and was an MVD officer; that is, it's not from stories that I know what I'm writing about. So I really know what is deeply hidden but nonetheless concerns all of us.

"The system of denunciation—that's what I don't respect the militia as a whole for. Even though I certainly sympathize with individual associates knowing their difficult, important, often simply dangerous, and in any case underpaid job. What will a simple (in the sense of one not versed in the secrets of the MVD) person say when he finds out that a ninth subheading exists in the militia budget in the eighth decade of Soviet Power? We are talking of human rights and the rights of the state, but at this very time in each rayon department of internal affairs (I have data on my native city, but they are similar to other large cities where 800,000-900,000 people live) 5 or 6 inspectors (now operational criminal inquiry officers) are obliged to have paid agents, and there are just as many more of them in the BKhSS [Combating the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation]. This is what the ninth subheading of expenditures intends. In sum, each has 10-12 associates who have had special training plus 2 service chiefs who are able to carry on agent work. None deals with less than 10-12 'agent-people,' but they may have more. Let us total this up. It turns out that there are 100-120 agents for every ROVD [rayon department of internal affairs].

"But then, the so-called 'trusted persons' also exist. They are people who receive one-time compensation for their 'labor.' The section inspectors also have their own 'trusted persons,' but without the opportunity to pay money under subheading No 9, it turns out they must pay these agents with indulgences—they close their eyes to moonshine making, parasitism, and the like.

"Imagine—information on what is being done within collectives is gathered at the ROVD. There it is summarized and every quarter sent 'up.' What is done with it then, none of us knows.

"Let us think it over once more: everything I have listed has existed in our country for a long time on a solid basis, but the people do not know about it. Not agents 'from there,' from abroad, but our homegrown ones. I am not even speaking of those persons who are imprisoned—in camps or prisons—and in order to survive and receive some blessings, an extra package from outside, for example, enter into cooperation with the camp security officer. After being freed they automatically fall under the 'guardianship' of militia officers, and after once making a deal with their consciences—at some time in camp—they will always remain in the 'cadres': the MVD holds them securely."

The reader undoubtedly paid attention to the fact that our conversation about agents is an anonymous one. The author of the letter is not indicated. Perhaps he does not exist in real life and the problems of the militia agents do not exist either? Not at all: both one and the other are reality. The last name of the former militia man was deliberately removed from the letter: it is still not safe for an employee of the system itself to discuss such a "delicate" topic openly: at the very least the unpleasanties are innumerable. Incidentally, something else is important now: to figure out how such a situation took shape and what must be done with the agents after proclaiming that we are building a law-governed state.

Our correspondent talks with the senior legal counselor S. Zamoshkin.

[Illesh] First of all, Sergey Dmitriyevich, is the problem exaggerated? Are we not laying it on a little thick?

[Zamoshkin] Not at all. The problem exists, even though up to now we have not spoken for all to hear not only about the work of the militia secret agents but even of the fact that these associates exist in our country. The deliberate secretiveness is obviously a result of the fear absorbed over the generations. The fear of being found guilty though innocent, the fear of being obliged to prove the obvious, the fear of a person's helplessness before the omnipotence of the "organs." For the militia, let us be frank, are not an image of compliance with the law in the consciousness of many of our citizens. Nor does it add to its prestige that during Stalin's times (and even in later years) its associates were involved not only in crime but even helped run the "political show."

Yes, people used to think there were no agents among us. But denying their existence is foolish because of references to them in detective stories, if for no other reason. I do not agree with another thing. That the author of the letter to the editor believes that agents are almost an "invention" of our MVD. For everyone knows very well that the keepers of order have had paid helpers from time immemorial; or rather, since these keepers appeared themselves. And to the present day the police

of all countries, regardless of their social order, use informers in the struggle against crime.

[Illesh] So then, agents are a reality of any organization whose goal is the struggle against crime?

[Zamoshkin] All of us must recognize that at the present time crime exists (and it will not disappear in the foreseeable future), and the organs which are supposed to fight against it use both official methods of work and secret ones. Among them, agents. That is an objective necessity. And the proposal to "liquidate" the agents is, to put it mildly, not a well thought-out one. On the contrary, without these forces it would be simply impossible to fight against our homegrown mafia and against the thieves "in the law" and many other things which do not make our lives more tranquil and nice. It is something which is important—to insure that agents are used within the framework of the law. But that is incredibly difficult because... there is not a word about them in existing laws.

[Illesh] As far as I know, until recently the USSR MVD was guided in its work with the agents by its own (secret, naturally) instructions. Today the matter has slightly changed and governmental (again secret) instructions exist. How does that look from the standpoint of compliance with the law?

[Zamoshkin] You are absolutely right: it is the law which should set the limits of secret work and those spheres of society's life where no agents can be and, most importantly, rule out the possibility of using them against "unorthodox thinkers." Incidentally, I must emphasize that the information received from informers even now is not proof in a criminal trial.

Insuring that the work of informers is properly supervised is no less important. Even the militia associates themselves in unofficial conversations do not hide the fact that there are a considerable number of violations in this matter. Well, the IZVESTIYA articles about the "Smolensk case," where an agent committed murder and rape and then himself took part in the "investigation" illustrates clearly that unsupervised use of this "weapon" is unacceptable. They are very necessary to the militia but in some cases very dangerous for society too.

And there is one more thing. Departmental accounting, oriented to the notorious indicators of gross output, among other things, incites many violations. Thus, one of the militia chiefs complained several years ago that he was forced to pad the number of secret associates in order to create the semblance that all was well in agent work. Although "dead souls" naturally had no effect on the fight against crime, that did not bother anyone: the main thing was that everything looked smooth on paper.

[Illesh] Everything has to be paid for, as we all know. And for the agents too. But the services of secret associates are paid for with money which comes to the militia from the state budget. Consequently our taxes are used.

So then it would be good for us to know how many of these rubles there are and for what purposes they are spent.

[Zamoshkin] And that is a reasonable but as yet unfulfilled desire. What is more, I already dealt with the subject of padding, but I will say one more thing. Cases of spending money specially intended to pay agents for purposes which are a long ways from official ones are closely tied with padding. (Simply speaking, it is sometimes misappropriated.) Situations where various kinds of illegal allowances such as the author of the letter reports are made for secret associates.

Alas, there is still a great deal that is unclear: how can procurator supervision of this section be carried out? It would seem that procurators should demand that the law be observed in this sphere of the militia's activity, just as in any other. But in fact the point is that there are no laws about agents. Moreover, since this work used to be a "big secret," procurators as a rule did not have access to it. But 20 years of experience in the procurator's organs have convinced me that when there are references to a "secret," expect serious violations.

[Illesh] Sergey Dmitriyevich, today a rough draft of the Law on the Militia has been prepared for discussion in the Supreme Soviet.

[Zamoshkin] ... and a place can be and, I am certain, must be found to define the boundaries of the militia's activity with its agents in this document.

MVD Commander Interviewed

90UN1557B Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian
19 Apr 90 p 6

[Interview with Colonel General Yuriy Vasilyevich Shatalin, commander of the USSR MVD internal security forces, by V. Simonenkov; time, place, and date not specified]

[Text] Recently the USSR Law "On the Duties and Rights of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Internal Security Forces When Keeping Public Order" was adopted. This is a law which attracted the Soviet people's fixed attention. It is not difficult to imagine why. Too many "hot spots" have appeared on our country's map recently. And the internal security forces frequently are the focus of events. And with no little risk for themselves. That is the life of these fellows! How is their fate taking shape? Many of our readers ask these and other questions.

The commander of the USSR MVD internal security forces Colonel General Yuriy Vasilyevich Shatalin speaks frankly. He has his views on the complex problems of our present life. He does not avoid sharp corners either. We offer the talk of our special correspondent with the commander to readers' attention.

[Simonenkov] Yuriy Vasilyevich, there are a large number of letters regarding serving in the internal security forces in the editorial office's mail. There is nothing

surprising in that; a considerable number of rural fellows end up serving exactly there. There are many letters from mothers. For the most part worried ones. Here, as an example, is what they write. Ye. Marchuk from Belgorod Oblast: "I believe that by sending the troops into the lion's mouth and forbidding them from using weapons in extreme conditions, the government deliberately sent our sons to death. What are our sons dying for? Did they come to protect someone's mothers, wives, and sisters? Was Afghanistan really not enough for us? Our sons were sent to protect the people of the Transcaucasus from violence. But did it turn out that they came to protect the authorities? And these authorities frequently deprive our boys of a drop of water and a piece of bread.

[Shatalin] You know, hundreds of such letters come to me. In them is the parents' natural anxiety over the fates of their sons who participate in bringing order, at times to the risk of their health or even their lives. And I understand very well that a mother's heart knows no peace and I am in complete agreement with them that interethnic and other conflicts should be resolved by the republic authorities, and above all by political methods.

Comrades in the localities themselves know the customs, traditions, and character of interrelations among nations better. They are supposed to do explanatory work, meet with people, and along with us seek answers to topical questions. But we often encounter an altogether different picture. With the very first failures the regional leadership seeks someone to hang responsibility on, and blame as well. In this way they frequently lay the responsibility on the internal security forces, and it is not professionals in those forces but only 18-19 year-old young soldiers.

[Simonenkov] Lieutenant Tsymbalyuk, who died during the tragic events in the Transcaucasus, was a graduate of the Blagoveshchensk Higher Military Combined Arms Command School. His mother, with whose letter we began our talk, reports that her son was transferred from the airborne troops. Does that mean that the number of internal security forces is increasing?

[Shatalin] As you know, because of the conflicts which have arisen in various regions of our country, the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a decision to increase internal security forces by 36,000 people. In accordance with this, we formed subdivisions using the personnel of units of the Soviet Army that have been cut back. And they were reinforced for the most part with people who expressed a desire to serve with us. Lieutenant Tsymbalyuk was one of those officers. He transferred to a special purpose subdivision at his own request. Now the internal security forces number more than 350,000 people.

[Simonenkov] Bold, hardy people who have enviable self-restraint even in circumstances where immediate danger threatens their life and health serve in the forces. But is it always justified to reject the use of weapons?

[Shatalin] In most cases the troops show self-possession which one envies. Although there have been situations

where they had every reason to use weapons according to the law. At times people say that is the "Tbilisi syndrome." But I still think that it is the "syndrome of the Soviet man," if one may call it that. For us it is unnatural to turn weapons against our own people. Obviously this "syndrome" usually acts on the psyche of a young soldier. Incidentally, I should mention that commanders do not have the right to make the decision for collective use of weapons when quelling mass riots. Carrying out operations against terrorists, invaders, plane hijackers, and the like are the exception. In all other situations each person who has a weapon must make the decision personally.

[Simonenkov] Then shouldn't cases where commanders have sent virtually unarmed soldiers against a crowd committing excesses be studied in this light? Did not the principle "making sure nothing bad happens" operate here? I am thinking of Dushanbe, where it was reported that the soldiers were dragged away with chain boat-hooks and the officers were grabbed with choke-chains.

[Shatalin] Back during the January events in the Transcaucasus we established the fact that in one of the units which was moved out across the Baladzhar'skiy Pass, where the fighting groups were showing the most resistance, the soldiers had no ammunition. Imagine the condition of those servicemen: it was night, there were shots all around, and they were going to take the blockaded roads virtually unarmed. I will say directly that in this situation the commanders were to blame. And we held them strictly responsible for that; for it was they who, according to the regulations and according to their own laws, determined whether their subordinates should be armed or not. And references to the "higher-ups" in this situation were simply groundless.

And in Dushanbe the commanders were playing it safe. By the way, I should say that in 2 years there was not one case where the procurator established the illegality of privates and sergeants using weapons in an extreme situation.

[Simonenkov] The difficulties of your service are not limited to confrontations with extremists. When I was in Azerbaijan in those bleak days, I saw that the living conditions of people performing their missions for the state were far from comfortable, to put it mildly.

[Shatalin] You have touched a very sore spot. Our troops have been in certain regions for more than 2 years. I must honestly confess that our living and working conditions are even worse than those in which the limited contingent in Afghanistan found itself. At times there were not even the most elementary comforts. And I said that directly from the rostrum of the Supreme Soviet. The deputies shared this concern and adopted a decision to oblige the councils of ministers of the Union and autonomous republics and the kray and oblast authorities who invite the internal security forces to protect the constitutional rights of citizens to provide them with

normal living conditions, domestic services, and transport and to allocate additional money for food in field conditions. This demand is now reinforced by law.

[Simonenkov] When unfortunate events have developed in one region or another, the internal security forces first of all have brought under guard the buildings of the administrative organs. And somehow schools, hospitals, kindergartens, and apartments were left out. Tell us, please, why was that?

[Shatalin] Obviously, that was just the impression that was given. First of all the internal security forces are concentrated in places where the crowd committing the excesses is. And as experience shows, most often they gather precisely near administrative establishments. But in principle, guarding any establishments is not part of our function. I repeat, we protect the citizens' constitutional rights. That is where all our actions stem from. For example, in Fergana we protected a hospital and places where servicemen's families, the Russian-speaking population, and those who asked for our help lived.

[Simonenkov] Are you one of the initiators of the transfer of the internal security forces to a professional basis? What hopes do you tie to that?

[Shatalin] Analysis of the data we have on human losses and injury to personnel allows us to draw the conclusion that we have the least trouble in this regard with the special purpose subdivisions, which are undoubtedly best trained in all aspects of war. I will cite an example for you. The group of Captain Osetrov ended up in the settlement of Azad in the Azerbaijani SSR. When the last radio signal came from it and we understood that the group was in a difficult position, 10 "special force troops" were sent to help it. So they fought with the so-called revolutionaries but in fact simply bandits, who numbered about 200. And the group managed to rebuff several attacks, even though the company commander was critically wounded. This case once again proved that only highly trained professionals are now capable of performing a complex mission, and to do that ideologically confirmed people are needed who have been hardened in the moral sense and are able to perform a mission with 1 of them against 10, that is, with less effort and with fewer losses. That is the essence of today's demands.

[Simonenkov] Yuriy Vasilyevich, what are the main tasks of the internal security forces?

[Shatalin] They are clearly defined in the USSR Law "On the Duties and Rights of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Internal Security Forces When Keeping Public Order." They include protecting the interests of the Fatherland and protecting the lives and personal property of citizens and their constitutional rights and freedoms from criminal infringements and other antisocial actions. But not breaking up demonstrations and strikes, as some people have believed until recently.

[Simonenkov] During the past autumn draft, some young men refused to join the internal security forces. What principle is now being used to form them?

[Shatalin] Not one person who refused to join the internal security forces was drafted. I should make the reservation that certain fellows objected to being sent to convoy troops and to subdivisions for protecting corrective labor institutions. Why? We studied that question. It turns out that many guys are ashamed of such service. Incidentally, that is one of the factors which serves as a reason for both operational and convoy troops to be renamed internal security forces, without any difference.

[Simonenkov] And what is the principle for selection for these troops?

[Shatalin] Our units are formed in the usual way.

[Simonenkov] The special purpose forces are not an exception?

[Shatalin] We do not draft people into special purpose forces but we select them. On a competitive basis. Today there are about 2,500 people in these subdivisions. Only those who want to go there, and only after 2 months training. The conditions of the competition are very serious. We choose young men who have themselves expressed the desire to serve in the special purpose forces. I should mention that the fellows from rural areas gladly go there. I want to take advantage of the opportunity and thank their parents for raising worthy citizens for their Motherland.

Stricter Legislation for Abuses in Trade Sphere Sought

90UN1494A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
28 Mar 90 Evening Edition p 2

[Article by I. Galperin, doctor of juridical sciences, professor, honored worker in science of the RSFSR; and Yu. Golik, candidate of juridical sciences, docent, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet: "Human Rights in a Rule-of-Law State. Law Without Illusions"]

[Text] The Achilles' heel of post-Stalinist times was the absence of legal regulation in various spheres of social life. Alas, this is the logical outcome of command-administrative diktat, of the failure to realize that, on the one hand, only the law should regulate the main questions of social development and, on the other, that laws which do not correspond to social relations turn into useless bundles of paper.

Today's active work to pass a number of legislative acts is a reaction to the old shortage of well-reasoned laws and, it would seem, is based on real needs. Many recently passed laws really have contributed their mite to renovating economic and political structures. However, now there are demands to solve all problems in general precisely by way of law. The range of recommendations which fill the mass information media is extremely broad. Frankly, it would be hard to name a sore point

that somebody has not suggested illuminating through the wise words of a legislator.

Of course, law is a great transforming force. However, one of the most dangerous and extremely persistent delusions is hidden in our extraordinary hopes, urged on by time, for a law-messiah. Generally, it is clear that we can neither solve, nor "get around" socioeconomic problems with just a few new legal norms. These days, it would seem, only a child could really fail to understand that a shortage of money must not be compensated for by increasing the productivity of the machine that prints it. However, unfortunately, such considerations are nearly always not taken into account when applied to law: evidently, we have not yet rid ourselves of the illusion that issuing one or another legal act in itself already guarantees real life for it. The costs of these illusions are bringing significant and tangible harm.

Let us remember: the 27th CPSU Congress political report spoke of the task of eliminating nonlabor incomes. Of course, this is a question of tremendous importance, requiring profound theoretical research and a set of measures intended for a long time span. However, no serious socioeconomic measures whatsoever in this direction followed. At the same time, the cry rose up: Make a law! Over several months (i.e., in record time, which foreign legislators, so to speak, would not even dream of) we managed to draft and pass a number of acts to change and amend the administrative, financial, civil and criminal legislation.

Today, it is embarrassing to recall the militia attacks on old women who sold dill or radishes, or the greenhouses destroyed by bulldozers, or many other things. Perhaps, however, this is a question of unreasonable excesses in applying a reasonable law? If only that were so...

The legislation on the struggle against nonlabor incomes itself contains contradictions which are impossible either to understand or to explain. For example, there is the ban on the purchase or sale of construction materials by citizens without notary registration of this transaction. It does not stipulate what kind of materials or in what quantity. Yet, if it is any kind and any quantity, then, consequently, a neighbor who has purchased a few boards from another neighbor without visiting the notary is a law-breaker, subject to administrative and, in Azerbaijan, even criminal responsibility. In whose interest is it to put millions of people who have committed normal daily household actions, "under the grip" of the law? Is it possible to close the road to machinations with construction materials through such measures?

Such legal norms are not only an aspiration to "respond to" and mimic the solution of an urgent social problem before the political leadership. Perhaps, populist motives are even more dangerous here: when social injustice, income disparities and the possession of material wealth

are the epicenter for the boiling of passions, propagandistic pills can no longer work, but the presence of a law is somewhat like a guarantee for the corresponding social demands.

However, we should not think that people do not see the illusory nature precisely of propagandistic methods, even if they are draped in the toga of law. Therefore, "playing God" by way of law can be successful only in individual cases, and even that success is short-lived. The reverse side of this is increased social alienation and the loss of the power of political trust. So, power's presumed service is, in the final account, a well-intended deed that has the opposite effect.

From this viewpoint, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Ukase of 27 February 1990, "On Strengthening Responsibility for Trade Abuses and Speculation," passed, as is done here, in response to numerous proposals by citizens and social organizations to strengthen the struggle against abuses in trade and against speculation, sparks a number of criticisms.

Study of the text of this ukase leads to the conclusion: it stipulates no new measures whatsoever, except for the usual mechanical strengthening of repression. Alas, it is a familiar picture: as before, strengthening the struggle against a negative phenomenon is reduced only to strengthening the punishment.

It ought to be clear to everyone that abuses in trade and speculation are caused, above all, by empty shelves and the scarcity of goods. The strengthening of punishment alone, if not accompanied by the socioeconomic and organizational measures that are needed in today's difficult situation, will not change the existing state of affairs. We need a new approach to the legal concept of speculation itself, which is still based on the decayed dogmas of the 1930s.

Right now, speculation is the purchase and resale of goods and other items for the purpose of profit. If we proceed from the existing vague formula, a criminal is not only someone who sold an item purchased at a store for an increased price, but also someone, for instance, a pensioner, who traveled into the "interior," bought several sacks of apples there and sold them (it goes without saying, with a profit for himself) in the city market. A question arises: in whose interest is it to consider him a criminal? First, the apples did not rot, but made it to our meager tables; second, the farmer did not bury them in the ground, and the pensioner was not frittering away his time; just try to bring produce undamaged to a counter and sell it in the market... This is difficult work and, moreover, it is useful for society. Of course it should be rewarded.

However, by our almost parasitic concept, the "second-hand dealer" is an impudent type, unconscientiously profiting from purchase and resale. Yet, is it not better for the common good to consider him a buyer? Let him buy and sell and receive an income, but an income subject to an appropriate tax.

We should encourage the buyer, not stop him. However, at the same time, an activity such as the purchase of goods in state enterprises for their trade and resale for profit should, unquestionably, be considered socially dangerous, i.e., punishable.

An unalterable requirement has dominated in legal policy of recent years: the struggle against breaking the law can only be carried out through legal means. A graphic example of deviation is the changes in the norms of administrative law, contained in the above-mentioned ukase. According to Article 14 of the Bases of Legislation of the USSR and Union Republics on Administrative Law Violations, the fine imposed on a citizen cannot exceed 50 rubles, and that imposed for mercenary violations—200 rubles. Meanwhile, the ukase introduces significantly higher fines. For example, the article on violations of trade laws by employees at trade and public catering enterprises, even if these violations were not committed for profit, stipulates the possibility of a fine of up to 1,000 rubles.

We agree that the sizes of a fine stipulated by existing legislation for a number of violations no longer reflect the degree of their real danger today and ought to be raised. However, **a change in the law should only be made in a legal manner.** Any other decision would be legal nihilism, a violation of citizens' rights. It seems to us, the USSR Committee for Constitutional Supervision, in full accordance with its competence, should say "no" to illegal norms.

Socially substantiated limits to punishment are of priority significance for the effectiveness of the struggle against crime. Only well-reasoned, regulated sanctions give the courts an opportunity to apply them successfully in practice. With full grounds, this also relates to a dangerous crime like speculation. Uncompromising punishment of the speculator is an important responsibility of the courts. However, it goes without saying, this does not rule out the individualization of responsibility or consideration of all circumstances of the matter and all data about the personality of the defendant.

To what extent do the sanctions against speculation, established by the 27 February 1990 ukase, conform to life and the conclusions of legal science?

According to the law that existed before this ukase, speculation committed without mitigating circumstances could entail a fine of up to 500 rubles, and now—from 1,000 to 3,000 rubles. Yet, is it really possible to apply such a measure to the real people who stand before the judges?

Here are some data from sociological research:

Of those convicted, 32 percent are retirees, housewives, students and pupils;

Of these, 56 percent have a labor income of up to 120 rubles per month;

The incomes of the families of those convicted, calculated per person, are: up to 50 rubles—27.5 percent; from 50 to 70 rubles—20.5 percent.

Is it possible to set the lower limit of the fine at 1,000 rubles, if payment of this sum is, as a rule, unrealistic?

The undifferentiated sanctions stipulated by existing legislation have already led to mass deviations from legal resolutions. So, speculation committed with several mitigating circumstances entailed only one punishment: imprisonment for 2 to 7 years with the confiscation of property. In fact, the RSFSR courts sentenced only 11.5 percent of those convicted to imprisonment in 1989, having employed a clause in the law stating that in exceptional cases the court can set a milder punishment. However, what kind of "exceptions" is it a question of, when they make up nine-tenths of those convicted?

The explanation is simple: the law did not give the judges an opportunity to name a punishment, which is dictated in the mass of real-life cases precisely by the specific circumstances of the affair and data about the defendant's personality. Unfortunately, the 27 February 1990 ukase is only able to aggravate the contradictions that appear in legal practice, since it raises the lower "ceiling" limit of punishment in the form of imprisonment from 2 to 3 years, and also introduces a fine of from 2,000 to 10,000 rubles. Only a few of those convicted can pay such a fine. Alas, fiction was knowingly included in the law.

An important guarantee of citizens' constitutional rights is the reinforcement of concise and clear clauses in the law, ensuring their uniform application. However, alas, this requirement has not been observed. Thus, committing speculation both according to prior agreement by a group of people, as well as by an organized group is, at the same time, is considered a qualifying circumstance. How can we delimit these concepts, if they are not defined in the law itself? It is impossible to answer this question simply. Meanwhile, in many ways a person's fate depends on the existence of such an answer. Whereas, for example, for the commission of a crime by a group according to prior agreement the guilty parties can be fined, if they confess that an organized group operated, the only punishment is deprivation of freedom for 5 to 10 years with confiscation of property. This is the price of legal concepts!

It has been said a thousand times that the quality of law is in many ways defined by the professionalism of the people who participate in the process of making it, providing scientific expert analysis of draft laws by legal scientists and specialists from the law enforcement agencies. Law is a difficult field of specialized knowledge where, like everywhere else, there is an urgent need to raise the level of professionalism. This is obvious when applied to engineering or natural science, to drawings, charts and formulas. However, for some reason to this day we have not outlived the opinion that only common sense, paper and ink are needed to create legislation.

Restructuring has illuminated a completely different approach to the matter. Profound analysis of the grounds, needed in order to make a new law, and providing for its internal consistency, precise formulations and definitions: these are all unalterable requirements for the creation of law which, unfortunately, are being ignored to this day.

Furthermore, about responsibility: it ensues for breaking an individual law and it is very strict. Yet, who was responsible, and when, for distorting the principles of law in legislative acts, for drafting and passing laws that not only fail to bring a benefit, but even harm the true interests of the matter? The requirement of responsibility is persistently absent in the halls where laws are made.

Description of Detention Center Detailed

Inmate Criticizes Conditions

90UN1629A Moscow TRUD in Russian 24 Apr 90 p 4

[Article by Yu. Prakhin, former prisoner sentenced under Article 86-Prime of the Ukrainian SSR Criminal Code: "Brutality for Brutality? On Prisoner Education From the Point of View of a Prisoner"]

[Text] We read, voraciously and tearfully, about the horrors of GULAG. And we are so carried away that we don't stop to think: How do today's "ordinary" (not political) prisoners live? Let us move from the illuminated yesteryear into the still shadowy day-to-day life of prisons and camps. Since I have an ample record of residence in them, I can undertake to be a guide, witness and, if you allow me, also an exhibit.

The first step brings the first shock: We are in a temporary detention prison [izolyator vremennogo sodержaniya—IVS]. Neither the arrest, armed escort nor prison bars stun you as much as the ordinary disposal unit in the cell. Here it goes by the romantic name "parasha" [latrine bucket]. It is the first landmark on the long road of humiliation.

The inconveniences of the IVS could be attributed to the agency's financial straits or to architectural deficiencies, had it not been for a readily apparent reason for the conditions of detention in these establishments: to "soften" detainees. This is still a current, and often effective, method which makes up for the meager technical and intellectual capabilities of the participants in the investigation.

The pretrial prison [sledstvennyy izolyator—SIZO] means months and years in a stinking concrete cage and continuous fasting, even though you haven't yet been called a criminal. The absence of information drives you mad. Obtaining a copy of the Criminal Code is as hopeless as meeting a variety star. With the blessing of the prison management there is always on the ready a special investigation pressure cooker: a pack of "plants"—prisoner informers who are totally degraded

and capable of betraying anyone and everyone for a package of tea or piece of sausage. They keep trying to convince you of the need to confess whatever is required at the interrogation—which you will later never be able to recant. If you refuse to cave in, then, with the full knowledge of the management, your cellmates may turn your guts into mincemeat.

Nor do many MVD and internal troops operatives disdain "knuckle jobs." And how zealous they can be! After a culinary debate following my refusal to eat rotten herring, I was handcuffed in the cooler up to my elbows, after which I lost consciousness for ten minutes and then my arms were black and blue for two weeks.

I spent half a year relaxing in a special cell. This residence was (I measured it myself) one meter forty [centimeters] by two meters twenty. For its six occupants they managed to squeeze two three-tiered bunks, a wash basin and a stool into it. The cement floor was covered with dew in summer and with hoar-frost in winter. I remind you that in the SIZO no one has the right to treat you as a prisoner—you are only a detainee under investigation. But you already reach a state when (as others are warned) you anxiously look forward to the trial, at which, with help from the longed-for attorney, you can argue with the indictment and tell everything as it actually happened.

The culmination of the humiliation is the camp compound [zona]. Grey, barbed, endless. The problems in this murky enclosure are countless. Never in the history of mankind has there been such humiliating slave labor as convict labor. Perhaps with the exception of the galleys. Its forced nature, lack of alternative, and whims of the management turn work into repulsive drudgery. The humiliatingly symbolic payment makes the work hateful. After all the deductions from your earnings a few rubles are left which are hardly sufficient for a purchase of some cookies or cigarettes. And our families? One of the prisoners was a father of six children. God forbid, but what will they grow up to be? After subsisting on their mother's pennies, what kind of earnings will they opt for when they grow up? Wouldn't it be more sensible for the breadwinner to remain a breadwinner in camp as well?

There is the barbarian tradition of restricting contact with relatives. All right, so they don't give enough chow, your head's clipped, leggings in summer—but why do they allow only three letters a month from a general regime camp and two from a strict regime one? Why is a personal visit allowed only once in six months? And even that possibility depends on the unlimited power of the detachment chief. You are separated from perhaps the only really sacred thing capable of supporting and preventing you from falling. The boys with first offenses are mostly normal people, some of them simply misstepped... And also, no one has ever attempted to determine the number of pathologies based on sexual deprivation. Isn't it this that leads to growing homosexuality, perversions, sadism, and that most harmless scourge, masturbation?

But that's enough. It's harder and harder to find genteel words. Because there is nothing bright "there."

For camp inmates outside talk of humanization and democratization is stuff and nonsense. And it will be like that until a person independent of the management whose duty is to uphold the convict's interests, appears in prisons and camps.

Shortly before being freed I was searched, and books, pants (oh, well) and diaries were taken away. All the years in prison, to keep from going off my rocker, I wrote down my thoughts in notebooks, I tried to rationalize and argue with myself and, believe me, purged myself that way. The notes were a part of my life. But they never returned the notebooks.

But what struck me most of all in camp was the great number of wrongly sentenced people. To be more precise, they deserved punishment, but not that kind. I make bold to say this because I studied several dozen verdicts (all prisoners have copies of them).

When a prisoner sees statements by the supreme legal agencies that so many hundred people illegally repressed by the Stalinist regime have been exonerated, he regards this as a mockery of his own fate. At the same time only several dozen cases of current camp inmates have been reviewed. We know that the prosecutors' offices are flooded with cases, not of living people, but of people long dead.

Thirty times I received all kinds of brush-off responses, which drove me and my family to the brink of mental collapse: "Your verdict is correct. There are no grounds for reviewing your case." But I was fortunate: I became one of the exceptions. It was an unheard of case: The Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR and the USSR Supreme Court reduced my sentence to five years. And you know why? Because they finally found a simple arithmetical mistake in the estimates of the damages.

But I repeat that the chance of getting freed like I did is extremely rare. And in law chance precludes justice.

Now imagine how embittered people must be who have served such hyperinflated sentences in the conditions I have so briefly described. Among the extremely embittered ones are also those whose crimes were provoked by the principles and realities of our state. Camp inmates include former managers who violated some building code or other, because otherwise it was impossible to build a house or fulfil the plan. There are brainy engineers who extracted gold from countless junkyards. Talented parasites like I. Brodskiy. Black marketeers, whose violations were preordained by the inevitability of the disparate distribution of massive shortages... It would seem obvious that flies congregate around garbage, not the other way around. But everyone keeps swatting at the "flies" with frenzied persistence, punishing them for their sins with elephantine standards sometimes appropriate for murderers.

What kind of people will they be when they come out? Will they have a clean conscience? Nonsense! With rare exceptions they will go back to their old trades. But having gone through the "universities" of camp mentors, they will reflect, whose pocket should they pick? The state's? Only a fool would do that. If you are foolish enough to steal even ten thousand from the state, even if there are a hundred of you, each will get at least a "tenner." But if one person takes from a hundred people all they have, even if he insults and punches them up, he'll get canned for five years. Moreover, all the articles covering crimes against individuals carry favorable terms, and you'll get out of the camp after one-third... So whose pocket would you pick, that of the stern state or a puny person?

Why have I written all this? Legal reforms, which are chewed over for years in drafts, will most likely survive quite a few more high-ranking jaws. But remember: every extra day of dallying is fraught with replenishment for the ranks of the mafia and the "fifth column."

Correspondent's Rebuttal

Moscow TRUD in Russian 24 Apr 90 p 4

[Commentary by M. Yurchenko, TRUD correspondent in Kharkov: "A Post-Scriptum by Our Correspondent"]

[Text] Are statistics unbiased? According to the USSR MVD, last year 345 militiamen died "in the line of duty." The President of the USSR spoke of the problem of crime in his very first address... And here a reader is offered to get into the skin of a prisoner, because, you see, he too is human. And yet it is necessary to speak of this so as to see all the roots of crime more clearly.

I showed this letter to supervisors of the department of the USSR Prosecutor's Office that monitors compliance with the law in correctional labor institutions. Department chief Yu. Khitrin questioned whether the letter should be published: it was too malevolent. Though he agreed that one could hardly expect any other sentiments from the author: Our detention conditions diverge far from regulations endorsed by the international community. Indeed, department prosecutor I. Tolkachyov agreed with him, restrictions in correspondence and parcels are groundless, in cases of disability prisoners are discriminated against in stating its causes. Those freed after serving their sentence are restricted in residence rights, etc.

Much in the letter can and should be challenged. Say, concerning the legislative stance on crimes against the individual. Not all of them are, as the author writes, favorable. The gravest of them—murder—deserve no leniency. However, one cannot but agree with the main idea. We know, not from the Biblical commandment, but from everyday experience: Brutality in response to brutality will not generate goodness. It is also true that we do not want criminals to remain criminals after leaving camp.

Yu. Prakhin claims that criminals have nothing to gain from frays which bring out the militia. But he adds that if something more serious happens the embittered criminal folk won't lose the opportunity to take revenge for the infinity of camp humiliations. So that his words about the "fifth column" are not fortuitous.

Don't think that the author has forgotten about the still inhuman conditions in many homes for senior citizens, the disabled or orphans. But in the final analysis, the question is not of creating better conditions for convicted criminals but of methods of combatting crime. Hardly anyone would say that this struggle can be reduced to wielding the avenging sword of the law.

I was told in the USSR Prosecutor's Office that, on instructions of the Council of Ministers, new correctional labor legislation is now being drafted. It is supposed to be completed by the end of the summer for consideration and adoption at the Supreme Soviet's fall session.

Illegal Personal Computer Transactions Described

90UN1435A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 6 Apr 90 p 2

[Article by A. Vasilkov, under the rubric "From the Swindle Dossier": "At Computer Point"]

[Text] So you want to get yourself an imported personal computer? Be careful! You are taking the risk of falling into a trap laid by the computer Mafia. If you do, in the best possible case you will become the owner of a defective or out-moded computer, and in the worst case you will lose your savings and risk your health, and maybe even your life.

"This is no kindergarten," said Vladimir Romanovich Molotnikov, who himself is only a small-fry in this milieu, not long before taking his seat in the prisoner's dock. "This is a game for grown-ups and they are playing for money. Serious money."

....Two heavily built fellows slouched carelessly on a bench in a small square in the center of Moscow. Between them was an open athletic bag. On the dot of 3:00 in the afternoon, as had been arranged, a man of about 40, only slightly above average height, chubby, with a face covered in premature wrinkles, entered the square. He stopped in front of the men sitting on the bench.

"Did you bring it?" asked one of them.

"As we agreed. There are 15 thousand in the folder."

"What denominations?"

"Ten thousand in 100 ruble notes. The rest in 25-ruble notes." The newcomer took two little wads of notes wrapped in plastic out of the folder.

"Toss it in the bag," came the order from the bench.

Obedying this order, the man took leave with a nod of his head.

The other two got up and likewise headed out of the square, only to be apprehended by some people who were waiting for them and had come equipped with handcuffs in expectation of just such an eventuality.

From the court records: "On 20 September 1989, the deputy chairman of one of the Moscow engineering-industrial cooperatives appealed to the KGB. And on 26 September, the chairman of that cooperative complained of an attempt by citizen V.P. Molotnikov and his accomplices to extort a large sum of money under threat of violence. As a result of investigation, it was established that Molotnikov's accomplices were students at the Moscow Institute of Industrial Control, A.S. Vagapov and A.A. Galayev. On 29 September 1989, based on material the KGB had obtained, V.P. Molotnikov, A.S. Vagapov, and A.A. Galayev were charged with a criminal offense. On that same day, having extorted a sum of 15 thousand rubles, Vagapov and Galayev were taken into custody, and then their accomplice Molotnikov. At that time the criminal case was transferred to the investigative division of the USSR KGB and on 2 October 1989, Molotnikov, Vagapov, and Galayev were placed in preventive custody and incarcerated."

Thus the KGB began to untangle a vast criminal skein.

From the testimony of witness L. I. Reshetnikova, chairperson of the "Energotekhservis" Cooperative: "...Before an imported computer gets into the hands of an interested buyer, it sprouts all kinds of extra charges added by various middlemen, each of whom wants to 'rip off', there is no other way to phrase it, a sum of money..."

In this system, the buyer must pay a sum for his computer that is much higher than its original price. For example, a firm offers a foreign trade association or joint enterprise a contract for 100 computers at an average of 2000 dollars apiece. The original price of one computer, if we consider 1 dollar to be equivalent to 10 rubles is 20 thousand rubles, while the contract price is 2 million rubles. But this is only in the case where there is a only a supplier and a buyer and no middlemen.

In actuality, everything goes differently. Instantly there is speculation. The organization that has bought the batch of computers immediately looks for a contracting agent—a contract buyer—and sells the whole batch for 50 thousand apiece, thus obtaining a profit of 3 million rubles for the speculation. The cooperative, having bought let us say 100 computers for 5 million rubles, sells these same computers to another cooperative for 60 thousand apiece, pocketing a million rubles. And so on. Until the customer/consumers, that is the people who actually need computers, have to lay out 70-80, or even a 100 thousand rubles for a machine."

This is the way the computer mafia operates. It has everything—a brain center, crooked bureaucrats, its own

bankers, "godfathers," its own dealers, its own "thugs" and goons. The Mafia has reserves of uncommitted money, which for certain undertakings are so great that they can support an incredibly large number of speculators in computers and other imported goods. Preliminary data indicate that, in Moscow alone, various "firms," "associations," and cooperatives of speculators in computers have earned more than a billion in profits. You can buy a great deal for money like this. You can even hire killers.

.. Someone knocked insistently at the door. The wife of the deputy chairman of the cooperative rushed to open it. On the doorstep she saw a middle-aged man, skinny and of average height. The stranger glared at the women from behind wire frame glasses. "Is your husband home?" Molotnikov asked without greeting her.

"He's home, but he's asleep."

"You better wake him up." Molotnikov entered the apartment. After him came Vagapov and Galayev.

The woman went into the bedroom and shook her sleeping husband by the shoulder.

"Get up. Some people are here to see you. They look like racketeers..."

The three extortionists took the hurriedly dressed deputy to the apartment of the chairman of the cooperative and demanded 30 thousand rubles from them as a "fine" for breaking their agreement stipulating that the cooperative was to obtain 10 thousand personal computers at 67 thousand rubles apiece (i.e., for a total of 670 million rubles) from the "Khimki" young people's cultural center associated with the gorkom of the Khimki city Komsomol organization.

"I won't pay," said the deputy chairman. "The agreement did not say anything about fines. Furthermore, our cooperative does not have the right to deal in computers. The bank refused to give us a loan. And we had no customers at that price."

"You should have thought of that before," retorted Molotnikov. You screwed up a big deal. A whole chain of people were involved. You will have to pay for 30 machines, otherwise we will be forced to resort to the traditional measures. Do you understand?

"I'm not afraid of you," answered the deputy chairman angrily. "Just try to get it out of my hide!"

"Only a fool is afraid of nothing," remarked the "thug," Andy Vagapov. "But you have a wife and child. Think about it."

From the victim's evidence: "The cooperative chairman and I agreed to the demands of the extortionists for only one reason. We understood that if we paid, they would only make us pay more. We also understood the real danger of the threats made by Molotnikov in the presence of his accomplices with regard to the potential use

of so called 'traditional methods' against me and my colleague. Not only were our own lives and health placed in real jeopardy, but those of our wives and children as well. I personally was not afraid of these three people, but we didn't know who was standing behind them. Among cooperative members it is well known that the computer Mafia uses the services of Chechen criminals who are noted for their brutality. It is very likely that Vagapov and Galayev had nothing to do with this circle. But we, I repeat, did not know who was behind them. For this reason we decided to send our families out of Moscow temporarily and to apply to the KGB for protection."

Where the computer Mafia is in power, anything can be done for money. There the old criminal motto rules: "You die today, and I'll die tomorrow."

A "dummy" false contract had been palmed off on the extortion victims. The "Khimki" young peoples' cultural center was not about to offer computers for sale at the sum of 670 million rubles for the very simple reason that the center had no computers and could never have had any. This became clear during the investigation.

In the summer of 1989, there arrived in Moscow one Gold and one Karagezyan, claiming to be businessmen who were permanent residents of the West and describing themselves, respectively, as the "president" and "vice president" of the Austrian computer firm, "Fotex." The businessmen took up residence in the Kosmos Hotel, and entered into a whirl of business activity, promising to "computerize all of Russia." Within several days, cooperative member L.L. Shparvasser introduced Gold and Karagezyan to Yu.P. Malakhov, the director of "Infotsentr," one of the subdivisions of the USSR Ministry of Electrotechnical Industry and Instrument Building.

In their hotel room, Gold and Karagezyan persuaded Malakhov with warmed cognac and the presence of Shparvasser that they could supply the USSR with as many computers as desired - 20, 30, 40, 60, 80 thousand—and would sell them for Soviet rubles. Suffused with instant confidence, the director without reading it immediately signed a contract for supply of 10 thousand computers to the USSR Ministry of the Electrotechnical Industry and Instrument building for the sum of more than 530 million rubles! He signed, of course, in order to resell them and turn himself a nice profit. To make a long story short, let us say that the only nice profit Malakhov saw was the loss of his position at the agency.

From the evidence of L.I. Reshetnikova: "About the beginning of July 1989, Yu. P. Malakhov proposed to me that I act as a middleman in the purchase of 40 thousand personal computers from the computer firm 'Fotex' for a sum of more than 50 thousand rubles apiece. I asked whether Yu. P. Malakhov had permission from the USSR Ministry of Finance and the USSR Council of Ministers to deal with 'Fotex.' Malakhov assured me that of course he had, however he did not show me any of the

appropriate documents. Then I asked my acquaintances in the Yugoslavian Embassy in Moscow to find out whether there was a 'Fotex' firm in Austria and what its capabilities were. And I received that answer that there is no such firm either in Austria or FRG..."

Witness L.I. Reshetnikova turned out to be a woman with connections, and she asked an American businessman whom she knew to find out who Gold and Karagezyan really were. This was the information she received: the representatives of the fictitious "Fotex" firm were actually salesmen... of carbonated water! The essence of the swindle that they planned was to buy defective and outmoded personal computers cheaply in the West, arrange their sale in the USSR, and obtain a large sum of money—on the order of a billion rubles. Gold and Karagezyan intended to use the money to acquire diamond disks for cutting metal pipes, gold, and valuable raw materials in the USSR, and market them in the West, earning hundreds of millions in hard currency.

The small-time shopkeepers who made carbonated water at home succeeded in implementing their plan. In addition to the contract with Malakhov for more than 530 million rubles, in violation of the laws, they opened an account for "Fotex" in the metropolitan cooperative bank to which the commercial(!) firm of "Osmos" associated with the RK [raykom] of the All-Union Komsomol Organization of Moscow transferred 100 million rubles. This organization too was no stranger to the desire to speculate in computers.

The volunteer society "Nauka [Science]," the "IMES" scientific-manufacturing society, and the "Interservis" scientific and technological center all professed to be eager to put tens and hundreds of millions of dollars into the pockets of the crooks Gold and Karagezyan.

And what was the source of all these sham contracts the racketeers brandished to extract money from the cooperative members? Here we encounter still more representatives of the computer Mafia, whose names surfaced in the course of the KGB investigation. Temuri Diomidovich Pertenava, 40 years old, thin, the owner of an impressively large gold signet ring on his left little finger. He passes himself off, depending on the circumstances, as the "director of a defense complex" somewhere beyond the Urals, or the head of a "joint enterprise specializing in pharmaceuticals," or "a cooperative member from Leningrad." He stays in expensive hotels; throws money around. It was Pertenava who gave Molotnikov the text of the false contract, signed by the management of the "Khimki" youth center, which had served as the formal pretext for extorting a large sum of money from the cooperative members.

There is yet another "operator," S.A. Potemkin, former head of the division of the "Khimki" young people's cultural center, 34 years-old, currently director of one of the "firms" participating in the so-called "association for business collaboration with foreign countries." Potemkin, taking advantage of the fact that the position

of head of the "Khimki" Youth Cultural Center was vacant, drew up and signed a false contract, according to which the "Khimki" Youth Cultural Center was purported to have obtained 10 thousand nonexistent computers from "Fotex" - Gold and Karagezyan's company. Potemkin "foisted off," as they say, the false contract on their cooperative member victims. He entrusted further "negotiations" concerning execution of the contract to Pertenava, and the latter to the racketeer Molotnikov. This criminal chain was broken by the KGB.

"The KGB has actively entered the battle with organized crime particularly with that portion preying on the problem of computerization," says the head of the Board to Defend the Constitutional System of the USSR KGB, Major General Ye. Ivanov. The complexity of the solution of the problems confronting us lies in the fact that we are just beginning to gain experience in the struggle against a very sinister enemy. But we have confidence in our powers.

The Legal Committee On Criminal Affairs of the Moscow City Court pronounced V.R. Molotnikov, A.S. Vagapov, and A.A. Galayev guilty of causing material damage by conspiring to extort property from the cooperative and sentenced Molotnikov to 7 years of incarceration and confiscation of property, Vagapov to 5 years and 6 months of incarceration with confiscation of property, and Galayev to 5 years of incarceration with confiscation of property.

That's how it ended.

Estonian KGB Chief Interviewed

90UN1520A Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII
in Russian 3 Apr 90 p 1

[Interview of Estonian SSR KGB Chairman Rein Sillar by Yu. Surov: "Each of Us Can Be A Dissident"]

[Text] [Surov] Rein Antsoovich, I will begin our meeting with what is perhaps an unexpected question: Right now, who is a dissident?

[Sillar] As classically understood, a dissident is a person who thinks differently. And who thinks differently right now? Yes, to be sure, with our total pluralism, the dissidents are simply marching in solid ranks. But if we stick to the spirit and letter of the law, which indeed law enforcement organs must observe religiously, then there are no dissidents in the sense that they existed in the 1970's. For the KGB, there are no dissidents, do you understand? A person thinks differently, what is terrible about this? Now, nobody is persecuted for his thoughts, for his convictions. Earlier, certain articles of the criminal code provided an opportunity to interpret this concept itself extremely broadly, in general to interpret broadly questions that relate exclusively to the sphere of ideology.

Now, the Committee for State Security does not concern itself with this. The sphere of views and propaganda of

ideas is a matter of the conscience and convictions of each specific person. And only public appeals for the forcible overthrow or change of the existing state order can fall within the sphere of our interests.

Of course, violations of the law in past years weigh heavily on us, the Chekists, although among the generation that is working today there are no longer people who committed them. But it was an evil, and it was done because state security organs became a part of the state punitive machine, were super-politicized and super-ideologized, which is extremely undesirable, even impermissible for them. But those who carried out the will of others within the Stalinist totalitarian state also themselves became victims of this merciless machine: Thousands and thousands of State Security workers—from generals to the rank and file—fell under the steamroller of repression. We must now do everything possible to eliminate the fear, bitterness and distrust of the people. Alas, these exist.

[Surov] And, strange as it seems, the state security organs themselves do not want to advertise—if we can put it this way—their activities. I have in mind not those aspects of its work that are connected with intelligence and counterintelligence and that are top secret in any country, but I am talking about that sphere which presently falls within the competence of the KGB...

[Sillar] This is organized crime, protection of commercial secrets, and terrorism. But indeed all this is so deeply hidden, so conspiratorial, that quick results are impossible to achieve. Organized crime—this not some kind of racketeer who extorts money from somebody. Organized crime has entered certain corridors of power, has become conspiratorial, and has well-developed protective mechanisms. What is needed here is long, painstaking work. Or take terrorism. We have no incidents of this within the republic. But, indeed, conditions exist that can contribute to their appearance—such as the theft of weapons. We are doing a great deal of prophylactic work here, which provides forewarning of the very possibility of a terrorist act. And this is also a matter without [visible] effect, although it is very difficult and demands real professionalism.

[Surov] Incidentally, Rein Antsovich, about professionalism. Do you believe that directors of law enforcement organs should necessarily be professionals? Or is "experience in management work and organizational abilities" sufficient?

[Sillar] Now, when our society has been stirred by emotions, professionals must be concerned with law-enforcement work. I assume that this question also relates to me personally... I was born in Vilyandskiy Rayon in 1948 into a family of rural teachers. I completed secondary school in Rakver and entered the law faculty at Tartu University. And after finishing it in 1971, I came to work in the KGB. However, in order to adapt to the specific characteristics of the work it was necessary to supplement my legal education through annual study in special courses. Within the organs of the KGB, I travelled the path from rank-and-file employee

to chief of a department. Up until now, I did not hold high management positions; I headed one of the operational departments. My rank is colonel.

[Surov] A question about your former chief. The announcement about the relief of Karl Korteleynen somehow sounded strange. He was relieved and that was it. Do you have any comments?...

[Sillar] He received a work promotion and his future service will take place in Moscow.

[Surov] The people have their views concerning "KGB informers." Do they, in fact, exist and are there many of them?

[Sillar] The KGB has no nonstaff, much less unpaid agents. Of course, when the interests of a matter demand it and within the limits of our competence, we do turn to citizens. And it must be said that they help us. But we never build an indictment on the basis of such help as these materials cannot be used as documents in a criminal trial.

[Surov] Please, several words about the KGB archives. Recently there have been growing demands to declassify them. But the department is not taking this step. Does this mean that they think there is something to hide?

[Sillar] In any special service there are materials that will never be declassified. You have in mind the twenty-nine thousand cases in the archives that are connected with the events of the 1940's and 1950's. The majority of the people who were condemned then are now subject to rehabilitation. But, indeed, there were also real bandits and terrorists, there were savage murderers, which no declassification will justify. I personally think that the archives of the 1940's and 1950's should not be completely opened for ethical motives. Then, during the time of investigations, many people, who are well-known now, gave evidence about their colleagues, acquaintances, and friends. And we do not know what guided them then. There are analogous situations in other countries. And in Greece, for examples, the government decided to destroy all the secret police archives from the period of rule of the "black colonels" junta in the interests of the Greek people themselves.

And if the destroyed archives of the political police of the Estonian Republic had been preserved? And if the Germans, had seized the NKVD archives when they entered Estonia in 1941? How many more nameless graves would there have been?

[Surov] Do you get appeals from the man in the street?

[Sillar] Yes. Some wonder why the KGB isn't putting anyone away. Others, to the contrary, think that we have transplanted too many. Now there have been demands to halt the activities of the civilian committees and of the Committee for Defense of Soviet Power and Civil Rights in the Estonian SSR. But this in the sphere of the politicians. There are no violations of the law. The state security organs, as I have already said, should not be politicized. Otherwise, they will become a weapon in the hands of one or another political party or power.

There are also appeals from people who do not have a completely adequate grasp of reality. Well, something like a "denunciation" at a poultry plant, where they raise chickens with cancerous tumors.

[Surov] The militia is constantly complaining about all sorts of problems. One of them is their inadequate technical equipment. Does the KGB have analogous problems?

[Sillar] There are, of course, problems, although they are not of an acute nature, since the central apparatus of the USSR KGB provides us with a great deal of assistance. But there are serious problems with the social and everyday living conditions of our employees and the members of their families, primarily with the provision of apartments. The Committee also allocates few automobiles, although they are used not only for personal but also for official purposes. We hope that the new government of the republic that will be formed at the first session of the new parliament will assist in the resolution of these problems.

[Surov] What, in conclusion, would you like to wish for our readers?

[Sillar] That they show greater respect and patience toward the opinions of others. I also hope that the people of Estonia correctly understand the KGB's role under contemporary conditions as one of the state institutions that, within the limits of its competence, serves to defend the Soviet constitutional order.

In conclusion, I want to express the hope that, within the complicated political situation in our republic, the population will show restraint and good sense and will not permit events to develop in Estonia in such a way that problems are solved not by words, but by force.

Kiev MVD Press Briefing on Organized Crime

90UN1315A Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA
in Ukrainian 24 Feb 90 p 4

["In and About Rumors." - From the Press Briefing of the Kiev City Office of Internal Affairs.]

[Text] At the beginning of the press-conference of the Kiev City Office of Internal Affairs leaders, journalists congratulated the head of the Kiev militia, A.V. Vasylyshin, on his new rank of lieutenant-general of militia. Judging from recent information, this was well-grounded, since in recent years, the tendency for crime level growth has been at least not only stabilized but has even decreased. And it should be added that numerous deeds, which had not been considered crimes before, are now falling under Criminal Code articles and therefore negatively affect the general criminal statistics.

The leaders of the Internal Affairs Office reported that in spite of the initial signs of improvement, the criminal situation in the city is still very complicated. The unit on duty receives 10-12 thousand calls daily, 70 percent of which have grounds for militia interference.

For instance, during the last year, 150 members of organized criminal groups were arrested. They acted impudently and cruelly. 1,440 cases of automobile windshield vandalism were registered. The number of home burglaries has increased.

Under these conditions, the Office is being reorganized. A special division was created to fight against organized crime. Special militia attachments became more and more active (their Russian abbreviation is OMON). Their major goal is to render harmless all extortionists, blackmailers, and racketeers. Arrangements have been made for the enforcement of these crack-downs.

But nevertheless it is difficult for the militia to act without the support of civilian squads, labor units, and state bodies. Reinforcement of the militia with cars and other technical means exists only on paper.

All these facts deserve consideration. But the major item of the press-conference held by A.V. Vasylyshin and the City Public Prosecutor, V.I. Shevchenko, were rumors and facts about so-called pogroms and outbreaks of hostility on a nationality basis which had allegedly taken place in Kiev and are being planned again.

It is well-known that the Office of the Public Prosecutor brought a suit for the fact of spreading such rumors. But in spite of all efforts of the Office of Public Prosecutor and militia, they were unable to arrest anybody for spreading such rumors. The deputy head of the City Office of the Internal Affairs, A.P. Kotenko, and the deputy public prosecutor of Kiev, S.V. Lotyuk, emphasized in their statements, that all this was based on the principle "someone said somewhere".

For instance, the letters "R" and "U" appeared on many post boxes in Minsky, Moskovsky, and Shevchenkivsky rayons. This caused a rash of telephone calls to the militia, which stated that allegedly some people are dividing the Kiev residents into Russians and Ukrainians. In reality, it turned out that some postmen were marking in such a way the Russian-language and Ukrainian-language publications for their subscribers.

Another example: For some time, many rumors have been circulating about kidnapping. The officers of the Criminal Investigation Department registered last year 282 cases of missing children, of which 272 were found immediately after the claim was made. Those were children who ran away from their homes for some reason and traveled. Eight more were found some time after that in the streets of other cities. And only two girls are still being searched for, they supposedly fell victim to accidents or maybe to criminals.

Claims were checked stating that allegedly lists are composed in housing offices containing names of persons of Jewish descent and their addresses. But none of these rumors have been ever confirmed. It is true that various inscriptions were found on electoral leaflets, some of them of a hooligan nature, but nothing more serious. The officers of the militia and prosecutor's office are requesting on this occasion: inform the judiciary bodies of any threats or appeals for violent action. Here

are the telephone numbers: 21-26-451; 21-29-999. One can also call a well-known number 02.

It was mentioned during the meeting that though, of course, nobody is immune to such a situation when

anywhere, during a meeting or another gathering of people, it occurs to somebody to provoke a row. That is why the militia are not taking it easy, but are preparing themselves, in order to eliminate the danger to people in time and to defend their legal rights and interests.

Marxism-Leninism Institute Chief Views Efforts to Debunk Lenin

90UN1492A Moscow *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA*
in Russian 4 Apr 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Academician Georgiy Lukich Smirnov, director of the IML under the CPSU Central Committee, by V. Pavlov: "Out of the Captivity of Dogmas and Myths"]

[Text] The polemic remarks by Natalya Morozova, "An Attempt on Lenin: A Second Try, a Third?..." printed in *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA* on 4 March evoked a number of responses. In it, we recall, it was a question of the need to defend Lenin from eulogists and dogmatists, as well as all sorts of "detractors" who are distorting his cast of mind and ideological-theoretical legacy. We sent a large share of the letters directly to N. Morozova, having obtained her consent to continue the discussion in the newspaper for interested readers. The editors sent letters with questions concerning the work of the CPSU Central Committee's Institute for Marxism-Leninism [IML] to Academician G.L. Smirnov, who heads this institute. Georgiy Lukich asked for an opportunity to answer the readers "through the newspaper." We offer an interview with him.

[Pavlov] So, let us read our mail together. Here is a letter from Muscovite V. Travko, who writes: "It is incomprehensible why the IML has stayed quiet! If scientists have lost faith in Marxism-Leninism, let them speak of this directly. If they have not lost faith, why are they silent? Are they waiting for something?" B. Triger from Mogilev repeats this, although not as categorically. Meanwhile, several other readers also persistently ask: "What are the positions of the IML?"

[Smirnov] We "stayed silent," we "are waiting for something"... If these reproaches exist, it means we should consider what we have failed to do. Indeed, not only we, but also all social scientists should do this. Nonetheless, I would like to assure the readers that the IML scientists today consider it their duty to actively contribute both to the most rapid liberation of social consciousness from schematicized, one-sided views of Lenin's life and work, as well as to cleansing the richest ideological-theoretical legacy of Vladimir Ilich from dogmatic and other deposits of Stalinism and stagnation, from various old and new distortions and falsifications.

The interpretation and re-interpretation of the Lenin's ideological and theoretical legacy and work to develop a modern concept of socialism are two of the basic directions that have been asserted in the IML's activity during the years of perestroika. Hundreds of articles, brochures, books and collections of documents have been published. The series "Pages from History. Reading Lenin," published in *PRAVDA*, sparked lively response in the party and in society. In articles and conversations of the series, the most important stages of his creativity were examined anew and, in my opinion, many obsolete positions, concepts, and stereotypes were convincingly

refuted. The collection, "*Urok Dayet Istoriya*" [History Teaches a Lesson], on these materials was published by Politizdat. The second volume in this collection will come out soon.

The latest approaches to the development of socialist thought are contained in a book, prepared on the instruction of the Central Committee, "*Ocherk Teorii Sotsializma*" [Essay on the Theory of Socialism]. Yet another book is also in production now: "*Leninskaya Kontseptsiya Sotsializma*" [The Leninist Concept of Socialism]. For the first time, it gives a treatment of the Leninist vision of socialism in development—from pre-revolutionary works to the very last work contained in his "*Politicheskoye Zaveschaniye*" [Political Testament]. The book was written in a polemic spirit of discussion, and its freshness and novelty lies in this.

In particular, let me note that the entire creative work of the IML collective is now occurring under conditions of broad interaction with scientific cadres in the capital and outlying areas. In the last 3 years, dozens of roundtable discussions have been held at the institute. IML associates are often "guests" on television, at workers' auditoriums, in scientific institutions and at meetings with propagandists. We have already held several discussions with "informal groups," at which the sharpest questions of socialism's contemporary development were discussed in a spirit of comradely debate. So, the talk that there is peace and quiet here at the institute is just "conjecture" of the uninformed.

[Pavlov] All the same, here is another letter. "Our social scientists," believes Ye. Buzykin from Kuybyshev, "should energetically react to attempts to degrade and even 'debunk' Lenin?"

[Smirnov] I agree. The increasing activeness of attacks against Lenin cannot help but alarm us. Although, speaking in general, the attempts to "deal" with Lenin are, of course, nothing new: this has been in the center of the ideological struggle for a long time. However, here is the paradox of the today's situation, which makes scientists more deeply analyze the realities of our time: speeches against Lenin and Leninism have started within the party, created by the party itself. Incidentally, these speeches are often highly superficial and demagogic.

So, the "fashionable" version is that precisely Lenin was the founder of the command-administrative system, and Stalin developed and consolidated it, and later, relying on it, organized mass repressions, and that terrorism in this sense comes from Lenin. It is difficult to dream up anything so "unexpected." Vladimir Ilich really led the great revolution and the Civil War, he consciously stood for the positions which he formulated as follows: only a revolution that is able to defend itself is worth anything. Under conditions of rabid opposition by the internal and external counterrevolution, under his guidance the bolsheviks were forced to answer violence with violence. Such is the nature of the class struggle!

Furthermore, a tremendous amount of work already done by Lenin (many of our publications are devoted to it) to substantiate and introduce economic methods of management during the NEP is debunking said version. Everything now being done to apply these methods of economic management, even though it significantly surpasses everything done under him in terms of scale, is based on his ideas.

Vladimir Ilich is also being "accused" of underestimating democracy. He who knows Lenin can only laugh at this and similar "discoveries." However, you will agree, a scientist cannot laugh when someone (not without success) tries to introduce false concepts in social consciousness. The truth, well-reasoned and exhaustive, should oppose lies.

More and more of my colleagues at the institute, who even yesterday, it seems, valued unhurried, reclusive labor most of all, are changing right before my eyes. They are displaying, so to speak, a fighting nature. Let me mention only the successful journalistic activity of historians V. Kozlov and G. Bordyugov who, in the journals *KOMMUNIST* and *RODINA*, as well as other publications, are passionately and persuasively exposing falsifications and slander aimed at Lenin and the party.

[Pavlov] Today, there are extremely widespread opinions to the effect that Lenin did not have integral, finished concepts about socialism or the ways to build it. V. Semenov of Barnaul and G. Seliverstova from Chelboksar ask what the scientists at IML think about this subject?

[Smirnov] We would be wrong to consider Lenin's views on the building of socialism as some kind of finished, frozen plan. Indeed, after all, in general he did not leave us a developed, detailed program for socialist transformations. Naturally, he was also mistaken on some things. The Leninist conclusions, formed in the early 1920s, were variants for the solution of specific problems which appeared precisely then, not later. These conclusions summarized the experience available precisely at that time. Since then, society as well as the entire world has changed considerably.

In general, it is extremely important to fully restore the Leninist principle of historicism in assessing events and phenomena. This relates directly to the publication of works by Lenin himself. It is impossible to view quotation extracted from one or another Leninist work as the truth, true for all time, for every situation. It is unwarranted to absolutize the meaning contained in them, to separate it from the specific conditions of the time when they were stated and written. After all, this will inevitably lead to distortion of the essence of Leninism, which is the first indicator of dogmatic thinking.

For many years, a number of myths were created surrounding Lenin, which now need strict scientific research. The canonized interpretation of his ideological legacy, even recently inherent in social studies, was reflected, for instance, in the assessment of the early

period of Vladimir Ilich's activity. It was as though his very first works had already set forth all or almost all of the basic components of an integral teaching, which in the future, they say, was only enriched with new facts and proofs... In short, such simplified approaches had an effect on the presentation of materials in the fifth edition of V.I. Lenin's collected works.

[Pavlov] Yet, after all, judging by the letters before us, there is special trust in such editions...

[Smirnov] That is why we are trying, to put it figuratively, to return Lenin to the context of his historical era, to thoroughly reveal his interconnection to the eminent representatives of all streams of socialist thought. I think the new publications in the 10-volume set of reminiscences about Vladimir Ilich, now being published, will be useful. For the first time since the 1920s, important testimonies about him by Martov, Radek, Rykov, Kautskiy, Trotskiy, Sukhanov and others are being published here. Previously, all these materials were removed from scientific consideration.

Possibly, you have encountered the thick folios of "Marx, Engels, Lenin and the CPSU on ... (one or another issue)", which were essentially a collection of party decrees supported by several quotations from the works of Marxist-Leninist classics. To replace these, we have begun to prepare thematic collections on the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, in order to thus give the reader an opportunity to follow the development of their views on a specific problem, so to speak, in the dynamic. The collections "On Democracy" and "On Cooperatives" have come out. Right now, work to publish a 4-volume set, "K. Marx, F. Engels, V.I. Lenin. On Communist Social Formations," is being finished.

It is important that the literati who propagandize the ideas of Marxism-Leninism respond more practically and sharply to real social needs and be oriented not toward a narrow strata, but toward the mass of readers, whose political activeness is growing rapidly in the process of perestroika. Incidentally, the institute, jointly with Politizdat, has decided to publish a series of popular works, "Vse o Sotsializme" [All About Socialism]. The first issues have already been prepared.

[Pavlov] Georgiy Lukich, our readers actively support N. Morozova's opinion that it is time to publish a new collection of Lenin's works.

[Smirnov] I am sure the question of publishing a new "Collected Works" has fundamental significance for all subsequent work on the propaganda of the Leninist ideological and theoretical legacy and for the development of topical problems of Leninism. Lenin's first "Collected Works," as everyone knows, started to come out when Lenin was still alive. The 55-volume fifth edition was completed in 1965. As I already mentioned briefly, it reflected limited approaches to illuminating historical events and assessments by political leaders in the then social sciences. This affected both the content of the edition, as well as its scientific-reference structure.

Documents in which Lenin speaks well of leaders like Trotskiy, Zinovyev, Zhukov and Kamenev were not included. The circle of Lenin's colleagues was limited to a narrow group of people. The bolshevik leaders were evaluated one-dimensionally, and it was not acceptable to speak of their mistakes and vacillations. In illuminating the intra-party struggle, opposition members were always qualified as conscious abettors of the bourgeoisie, as enemies of the working class who strived to push the working people away from the revolutionary path. The same tendency is traced with regard to all non-Marxist parties (the populists, the SRs, etc.). The new edition should reflect the contemporary level of development of social science and eliminate the omissions in previous editions.

[Pavlov] Our readers, by the way, would like to know how you relate to the idea expressed by N. Morozova in *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA* of republication, introducing the necessary elaborations in the scientific reference index, of Lenin's fifth "Complete Collected Works" using a facsimile method.

[Smirnov] The new edition needs entirely new scientific commentaries: without them the modern reader simply would not understand us and would have just claims against us. The publication of old volumes would not make sense without new documents, without the collation of texts already previously published with their primary sources. Therefore, apparently, it should not be a question of facsimile republication or, similarly, of a simple reprinting. This is an expensive undertaking, and it would be more expedient to focus efforts on preparing a qualitatively new edition.

Right now, a prospectus has been prepared for a sixth edition, in which we intend to publish all Leninist documents. The concept for it has been developed. The basic principle will be that of academic publications, in which when gathering essays one includes the entire sum total not only of basic works, but of all prepared materials. We will publish both his finished and unfinished works, various versions of them, the marginalia (notes in the margins), the Leninist abstracts of works by various authors, and so forth.

We are preparing two test volumes. Both models have already been discussed, with the involvement of foreign scientists. An active search is being carried out to verify the authorship of documents possibly belonging to Lenin.

[Pavlov] Is there really a need to prepare a new biography of Lenin?

[Smirnov] There is, and we are preparing it. Previous editions, including the last, eighth one, do not fully meet the contemporary requirements of science. Apparently, it is expedient to draft a new type of biography of V.I. Lenin and to involve fresh authors in implementing the concept. Taking into account the diversity of the readers' inquiries, we believe it is important not to reduce the matter to creating just a kind of single, universal work.

The collection of biographic materials on Lenin (some will be published in the 41st Leninist collection coming out this year, and in volumes of the new edition of reminiscences about Lenin) is not coming to a stop. We are summarizing the experience of creating biographic Leniniana both in our country (in the 1920s), as well as abroad.

[Pavlov] Probably, A. Samoylov from Orel would like to know what part of Lenin's documents are not known to this day?

[Smirnov] There are still many unpublished documents and the search for them continues. Traditionally, the institute has been publishing these Leninist collections since 1924. Previously unpublished documents and materials are popularized in them. After completing the "*Polnoye Sobraniye Sochineniy* [Complete Collected Works], the 37th, 38th, 29th and 40th Leninist collections were published, which presented about 1,000 new documents. The already-mentioned 41st collection includes 240 documents.

[Pavlov] Finally, a question raised in many of our readers' letters: is there a renovation of cadres at the IML?

[Smirnov] In 3 years at the institute, the cadres have been considerably renewed. Almost all scientific subdivision heads have been replaced and the collective of associates has "grown younger." More than 100 new people have arrived, and roughly as many have left. The institute's structure has been significantly restructured, taking into account the need to expand research on the contemporary problems of socialism, above all, socio-economic and ethnic relations. After all, our institute is a comprehensive establishment, encompassing a whole series of scientific directions.

I will not hide the fact that, like everywhere, we have many unsolved problems. For instance, for the time being our works clearly show the shortage of data from specific sociological studies. Many authors still use secondary information, but after all, one can hardly draw serious conclusions without a constant influx of fresh, objective information. True, a turn for the better has also been noted here, but the "old ways" are still making themselves known. There is another sin too. Here, I am speaking of the fact that a large share of my colleagues at the institute are speaking out boldly and sharply in the press, on television and in workers' and other auditoriums. However, there are also many specialists who are utterly fascinated with the preparation of basic works and are keeping, so to speak, their knowledge and achievements to themselves, until their books and collections are published. This is hardly justified at the present tempestuous time. Returning Lenin to the party and the people, out of the captivity of dogmas and myths, is an urgent task.

Lenin Called 'Inhumane' at Moscow Soviet

90UN1689A Moscow VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA
in Russian 17 Apr 90 p 1

[T. Yeloyev, N. Zaytseva, N. Mezhekov report on Moscow City Soviet session: "Decision Time"]

[Text] As VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA has already reported, the 21st Moscow City Soviet First Session began yesterday.

The presidium and vote-counting commission and also the secretariat and editorial group were elected at the morning meeting.

The deputies then embarked on election of the credentials commission. E.A. Bakirov, presiding, reported that this matter had preliminarily been discussed at meetings of the session preparation organizing committee. Proportional representation on the credentials commission of the various blocs and groups of deputies that have taken shape in the new Moscow City Soviet was taken into consideration.

To the question of one deputy as to whether the municipal electoral commission had received complaints about deputies who had been proposed for the credentials commission, it was replied that the organizing committee had asked the representatives of the coordinating councils of the various blocs not to recommend for the credentials commission deputies about whom complaints had been expressed on the part of the electorate.

It was moved that it be elected in a composition of 19 persons. It was overwhelmingly adopted.

Debate developed around the actual procedure of the examination of the nominees for the credentials commission. Several versions were proposed until one was adopted. Discussion of each proposed nomination in alphabetical order, comments, and then a decision by way of show of hands on whether a particular deputy should be made a member of the credentials commission or not.

And here are the first results. The following deputies have been elected to the credentials commission: N.I. Arkhipkin, head of a department of the Pervomayskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Administration; S.D. Baranov, student of the Philosophy Faculty of the M.V. Lomonosov Moscow State University; and A.A. Bogolyubov, scientific associate of the Moscow Engineering-Physics Institute.

Increasingly new nominations are being put to the vote. However, the list was far from exhausted before the first break.

After the break, the session was chaired by Deputy S.B. Stankevich. He reported that in the break the presidium had received a request from a large group of deputies of the Moscow City Soviet that Deputy R.R. Chervontsev be recognized for a special communication.

Recounting what a complex situation had taken shape in connection with the problem associated with the activity of the T. Gdlyan and I. Ivanov investigative group, R.R. Chervontsev proposed that the Moscow City Soviet of People's Deputies First Session pass a resolution on this question.

Its wording evoked a contradictory response in the hall. But the chairman put a stop to the heated argument which had erupted in the hall, submitting a proposal whose essence was that the text of the resolution, which was far from incontestable, be handed over to the session's editorial group for additional work and that the final version be discussed and adopted subsequently.

The proposal was adopted.

The deputies then embarked once more on discussion of the candidacies for the credentials commission. But it once again dragged on to such an extent that the formation of this elective body of the session had not been completed by the second break either.

The third meeting of the first day of work of the session was chaired by Deputy Ye.P. Lebedev. He called to speak a guest, M.M. Kiselev, people's deputy of the Leningrad City Soviet, who conveyed greetings to Muscovites from Leningraders and wished the deputies of the 21st Moscow City Soviet successful work.

The session then completed discussion of a further four candidacies and approved the composition of the credentials commission.

There was at the session also something that could have caused nothing but indignation.

Deputy L.Ye. Balashov proposed that it be resolved that identification no. one be presented to oldest deputy of the Moscow City Soviet. The speaker gave as his reasons for this the fact that in the post-October period the views and actions of V.I. Lenin had been of an inhuman, inhumane nature and that he could not be the moral stimulus of the Moscow City Soviet.

Such inventions were emphatically rejected by the Moscow City Soviet deputies.

This episode testifies yet again that certain deputies lack not only sufficient parliamentary experience but also political maturity.

The deputies embarked on examination of the agenda of their work. Several versions were proposed. They were submitted by the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee, the organizing committee, the working group, and the Independent Deputies group. And once again the participants in the session took up procedural matters. But time races on inexorably. And positions were not ascertained prior to the end of the meeting stipulated by the standing orders. When the examination turned to "Other Business," Deputy A.A. Osovtsov was given leave to speak. He read out the appeal of deputies of the

Moscow City Soviet to those of the USSR Supreme Soviet prepared by the editorial group.

Turbulent discussion of this began. But when the issue was put to the vote a group of deputies walked out, thereby expressing their disagreement with the wording of the "Gdlyan-Ivanov Case" appeal.

The deputies who were left adopted the wording of the appeal.

Following the first day of the session's work, a press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists was held. Answering the questions of its participants, members of the presidium evaluated the work of the session positively, on the whole, and in their opinion the program scheduled for the first day was fulfilled.

Answering the VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA correspondent's question as to what had been the cause of the greatest dissatisfaction in the work of the first day of the session, the members of the presidium observed that the improper behavior of certain deputies had left a bitter taste, that group interests had been predominant in the speeches of some of them, and that there had as yet been insufficient practicable constructive suggestions. The most important thing is overcoming the barrier of disagreements, and not allowing oneself to be carried away by details but really getting down to dealing with problems of the life of the city. And many such have accumulated.

Today the morning meeting began with reports from members of the secretariat of the Moscow City Soviet First Session on inquiries received from the electorate and the responses to them. Procedural matters were also studied.

The deputies then embarked on discussion of the session agenda.

Letter Decries Affront to Lenin

90UN1684B Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 19 Apr 90 p 1

["Letter to the Editor"]

[Text] We have been following the work of the session of the Moscow Soviet of People's Deputies.

It is difficult to believe that at their first session the people's deputies would allow such a shameless speech demanding that the bust of V.I. Lenin, the founder of the Soviet state, be carried out of the auditorium, and that they would call for the abolition of the sacred tradition of subscribing Deputy's Seat No. One in his name.

We are astounded and indignant that the deputies not only heard out such irresponsible and, we would say, provocative statements, but that they did not even rebuff the presumptuous deputy.

The name of Lenin is sacred for us just as for all Soviet people, and not just of our generation, we believe. We

ask the deputies of the Moscow Soviet to state their attitude to what has happened.

I. Rudelson, B. Fokin, V. Grebenshchikov, and B. Bidyapin.

Moscow Soviet 'Attack' on Lenin Scored

90UN1684B Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 19 Apr 90 p 1

["Urgent Telegram"]

[Text] We are indignant at the immoral attacks by individual deputies of the Moscow Soviet directed against Vladimir Ilich Lenin. All of mankind values highly the person of V.I. Lenin and his role in history. Discrediting the founder of our state is a logical continuation of the anticommunist activities of certain forces disguising themselves in democratic clothing. As voters we insist on a public evaluation by the Moscow Soviet of such pranks. A great country should be proud of its great citizens. Lenin is our history and Leninism is our future.

Conference of secretaries of the party organizations of Moscow's Frunzenskiy Rayon. There are 30 signatures.

Ivashko Addresses Kiev Lenin Commemoration

90UN1777A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
22 Apr 90 p 3

[RATAU report on ceremonial meeting in Kiev devoted to 120th anniversary of the birth of V.I. Lenin: "By the Road of Lenin, by the Road of Perestroika"]

[Text] These spring days our country's working people and all progressive mankind are paying a tribute of respect to Vladimir Ilich Lenin. A ceremonial meeting of representatives of the work force of Kiev and the oblast, party, soviet, and public organizations and soldiers of the Kiev Garrison, which, as reported, was held on 20 April in Kiev's "Ukraina" Palace of Culture, was devoted to the 120th anniversary of the birth of the brilliant thinker, revolutionary, and founder of the Communist Party and the Soviet state. The leaders of all general consulates of foreign countries in Kiev were in attendance.

The meeting presidium was composed of party, war, and labor veterans, production frontrunners, figures of science and culture, and military leaders. Here also were people's deputies of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], and leaders of the Ukrainian Communist Party and the republic government.

The meeting was opened by A.I. Korniyenko, member of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Kiev Gorkom [City Party Committee].

The national anthems of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR were played.

The report "By the Road of Lenin, by the Road of Perestroika" was delivered by V.A. Ivashko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. He observed, *inter alia*, that we were commemorating the 120th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilich Lenin—the great thinker, revolutionary, and founder of the Communist Party and the Soviet state—at an abrupt turning point in our history. The renewal of socialism being realized on the initiative of the Lenin Party is a large-scale historical shift on the path of social progress. Perestroika represents a new twist of the spiral of the revolution, which was initiated by the Great October. Recognizing their deeply-lying intrinsic twinning, we now perceive more than ever the need to turn constantly to V.I. Lenin and his immortal teaching.

For a long time the entire wealth of Lenin's ideological legacy, particularly his vision of the essence and prospects of socialism, was frequently interpreted simplistically, its theoretical profundity was often emasculated and the dialectics of the driving forces and contradictions of socialism and the actual condition of society were ignored. A true picture of Leninism is impossible, therefore, without an understanding of the essence of the deformations and falsifications of the Stalin era and without it consistently being purged of the dense dogmatic extraneous features of the times of stagnation.

Mention also must be made of the fact that V.I. Lenin's name and teaching have come to be at the very epicenter not only of the ideological but also acute political struggle. Antisocialist forces denying the natural regularity of our people's historic choice in October 1917, openly declaring a renunciation of Leninism, are actively making their presence felt. It is therefore once again necessary now to beat back an attack on Leninism and say a decisive "no" to all who, adroitly equating Leninism and totalitarianism, are gambling on a weakening of the Communist Party's ideological positions.

For this it is necessary to turn once again to the primary sources of Leninism, particularly V.I. Lenin's fundamental ideas concerning socialism as a system, the basis of which is the establishment of values common to all mankind, democracy, and social justice, and the surmounting of man's alienation from power, property, and production. It is for this reason that the draft CPSU Central Committee Platform for the 28th Party Congress and the Program Principles of the Activity of the Ukrainian Communist Party give priority to humanitarian ideals and the actual vital interests of the working man.

The name of V.I. Lenin, the speaker continued, is boundlessly dear to the peoples of our multinational motherland. The historical destiny of the Ukrainian people is inseparably linked with his ideas and activity. Over 1,000 of Lenin's works and documents wholly or in individual topics concern the revolutionary and liberation struggle and Soviet building in the Ukraine.

The social democratic and Bolshevik organizations of the Ukraine, which made a substantial contribution to the accomplishment of the three revolutions in Russia, constituted an active part of the Lenin Party. Under the banner of Lenin's ideas the Ukrainian workers and peasants threw off the yoke of social and national oppression and acquired their national statehood.

While defending in principle nations' right to self-determination, V.I. Lenin directed all his efforts at creating and guaranteeing the conditions for the harmonious economic, political, and cultural development of all nations within the framework of a common Union state. The ascent of the Ukrainian people to their state self-determination has been complex and contradictory. There have been surges and breakthroughs into the new and the unknown and there have been many tragic pages also. The Stalin times appreciably deformed the sovereignty of the Ukrainian Soviet state. All this is the historical truth, and it should be revealed in all fullness.

Nonetheless, it was as a part of the USSR, granted all the mistakes and miscalculations which occurred on the uncharted paths of socialist building, that the Ukraine overcame economic, social, and cultural backwardness and united the nation and all its territory in the single Ukrainian SSR. The Ukrainian people really perceived themselves to be a part of the great family of Soviet peoples and peoples of the whole world and were a founder of the United Nations. To ignore these achievements would be not only a deviation from historical truth but also simply unjust.

We see the future of the Ukraine in a renewed Soviet federation. As you know, the USSR Law "Principles of the Economic Relations of the USSR and Union and Autonomous Republics" determining their rights and mutual obligations was enacted recently. Other legislative enactments are in line. A draft new Union treaty is being drawn up. While participating actively in this work, we proceed from the fact that the sovereignty of the Ukrainian socialist state provides for the unlimited power of the people on their land, the state integrity and territorial supremacy of the Ukrainian SSR, and independence in determination of the institutions and symbols of statehood and the administrative-territorial arrangement. It is the republic's right to itself decide what to transfer to the jurisdiction of the Union authorities. The legal basis and mechanism of the protection of the republic's interests will be created.

At the same time we are opposed to all attempts under the slogans of a revival of national self-awareness to introduce in society ideas of separatism and dissension and disturb civil peace. As you know, certain political forces have recently been attempting to speculate on national and religious feelings with no thought as to what is most important—the fate of the Ukrainian people—and calling for the Ukraine's secession from the USSR.

Irresponsible calls for a removal of party and Komsomol [Communist Youth League] organizations from the

enterprises, establishments, and educational institutions are being heard. The young people are being actively pulled into unlawful, nationalist activity. Disrespect for the constitutions of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR and Soviet laws is being displayed. A statement of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers which was made recently clearly propounds the idea that the people and the Communist Party do not have the right and cannot permit any arbitrary action and lawlessness.

In the interests of the present and future generations it is essential that we build a state based on the rule of law inasmuch as Leninism and our practice have proven incontrovertibly that transformations in any sphere of social life have no chance of success unless they are based on conscious discipline, high political culture, strong state institutions, and effective institutions of power.

The more so in that perestroika, whose determining features are democratization and glasnost, has created all the conditions for the revival and assertion of Lenin's ideas of genuine power of the people. The slogan "All Power to the Soviets" is, as in Lenin's time, actually being realized. Democratic principles in the practice of the elections of people's deputies and the activity of the public organizations are crystallizing out. The wave of social renewal has brought to the surface various social and political currents. As you know, they are represented in the soviets of all levels also. We are for wide-ranging dialogue and cooperation with constructive forces and emphatically opposed to all that is geared to the undermining of socialism.

Now the very logic of life, V.A. Ivashko went on, has confronted us with the task of radicalizing the processes of renewal. Among the most urgent tasks is the accomplishment of economic reform. In elaborating the concept of this the party is taking as a basis Lenin's ideas and his collation of the experience of the New Economic Policy and fundamental conclusions concerning a "radical change in our entire viewpoint of socialism." An extension of the democratization of economic relations, financial autonomy and self-government, the development of cooperative principles, leasing and other progressive forms of management are moving to the forefront now. And this, in turn, requires an improvement in the system of commodity-money relations and the shaping of a full-fledged socialist market. That is, it is a question of transition to a controlled market economy.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo recently expressed to the CPSU Central Committee its fundamental position on this matter, which amounts, specifically, to the fact that the transition to market relations and a system of free pricing requires detailed calculations and substantiation and extensive explanation to the people. The measures which are implemented should reliably protect the interests of the working people and establish firm barriers in the way of the shadow economy, corrupt elements, and profiteers.

This position was supported at the joint meeting of the USSR Federation Council and Presidential Council on 18 April.

As you know, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee March (1990) Plenum adopted the resolution "Political and Economic Sovereignty of the Ukraine." The corresponding concept has been elaborated. Our relations with the center, the Union republics, and foreign countries are envisaged. The basis of our policy on this question is the conclusion of mutually profitable economic agreements and the creation of a mechanism for harmonization of the interests of the Ukrainian SSR with the other republics and the center, and protection against mismanagement and the squandering of our national wealth.

The structural reorganization of the national economy is subordinated to a return to the Leninist understanding of the social thrust of the economy. It is primarily a question of priority in the production of consumer goods and the development of services, and extensive use of the possibilities of science, mechanical engineering, and the defense sector. It is toward this that current investment policy is oriented.

Among the most acute problems is that of food. New approaches pertaining to realization of agrarian policy are now being introduced actively on the initiative of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. We uphold a diversity of forms of the management of agricultural production, as chosen by the peasants themselves, the granting of economic freedom to the kolkhozes and sovkhozes [collective and state farms], which would make it possible to make efficient use of their true potential, the optimum balance between purchases of agricultural products and material-technical resources for their production and the economically substantiated correlation of the prices of products of town and country. It is extremely important to realize in practice the preferential development of the processing industry, sharply reduce the tremendous losses of agricultural products, and ultimately find the necessary resources for the social development of the countryside. And this is now being done.

Among the broad range of urgent problems, the speaker emphasized, the most painful is elimination of the consequences of the Chernobyl accident. A comprehensive program of elimination of the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Electric Power Station has been drawn up and is being implemented in the republic. But this is a tragedy of a global nature, and it can in no way be "written off" merely to the Ukraine's account. Multi-billion-ruble expenditure is needed here. We have therefore insisted and continue to insist that all that concerns the Chernobyl disaster be tackled as an all-Union program. All these matters will be discussed in the very near future at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The republic's precise and consistent position will be reflected there.

The real renewal of society is impossible without a revival of the people's spiritual potential. For this reason, V.A. Ivashko said, the Ukrainian Communist Party attaches exceptional significance to supporting the official status of the Ukrainian language and the development of Ukrainian national culture and the cultures of the national groups residing on the territory of the Ukraine. This is our fundamental policy, and we will not deviate from it. Through the Communists in the soviets we will champion the affirmation of the contemporary principles of state support for the development of science, literature, art, and the aesthetic education of the population. Comprehensive programs of the development of culture in the Ukrainian SSR and the development of historical research and improvement in the study and propaganda of the history of the Ukraine, which are being drawn up currently on the initiative of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, are geared to this.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has prepared a set of proposals for the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet on the adoption in the republic of basic legislative provisions concerning culture including, specifically, the creation of a special Supreme Soviet culture committee.

Having described V.I. Lenin's decisive contribution to the creation of the Communist Party and the formulation of its strategy and tactics at different historical stages, the speaker concentrated on the question of what kind the party should be under the new conditions—under the conditions of democratization, political pluralism, a multiparty system, and the delineation of functions between the party and state authorities. The conclusion here is unequivocal: Today success in any undertaking will be decided primarily by great competence, great giftedness, great organization and cohesion, and closer ties to people. This is why we are squarely confronted by the task of the party's renewal. The 28th CPSU Congress and 28th Ukrainian Communist Party Congress will be a decisive frontier on this path.

At the present time a lively and, at times, unduly sharp debate around the party's draft program documents is under way in the party organizations. The assertiveness and concern which is being displayed by the Communists is a phenomenon without precedent in many decades. And this is truly the revival of the Leninist tradition. While supporting in every possible way the businesslike discussion of problems of vital importance to the party, the CPSU Central Committee poses as a matter of principle the question of the need for a strengthening of the party's ideological and organizational unity.

Having analyzed the situation which has taken shape currently in the party and society, the CPSU Central Committee addressed to the country's Communists the open letter "For Consolidation on a Basis of Principle." The resolution of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee March Plenum "For a Strengthening of

the Unity of the Party Ranks" was also subordinated to this same goal. In connection with the various arguments and acute debate which continue around these documents, V.A. Ivashko emphasized that it is a question not of struggle against convictions or dissidence but of the achievement of genuine consolidation. As far as those who by their actions are in fact placing themselves outside of the party are concerned, it should be a question here, of course, of dissociation. Particular seriousness is attached to all these questions under the conditions of the formation of a multiparty system. Fundamental significance in this connection is attached to mastery of the experience of Leninism, specifically, of both interparty struggle and constructive cooperation based on justified compromise.

A most important area of the restructuring of the party is the democratization of intraparty life. For this it is necessary primarily to revive the principle of democratic centralism in its Leninist understanding, ensure the supremacy of the party masses over the elective bodies and the apparatus, and create real opportunities for each party organization and each Communist to actively influence the formulation and implementation of the party's policy line.

The restructuring of the CPSU is impossible without precise determination of the new status and role of the communist parties of the Union republics. How do we conceive of a renewed Ukrainian Communist Party? This should be a party which, while adhering to the CPSU Program and Rules, is independent in all its activity, including the formulation and implementation of a policy line corresponding to the republic's conditions and the people's national traditions. But it needs to be emphasized here that the Ukrainian Communist Party will fight against federalism in the composition of the party and attempts to legalize factionalism and use it to split the party.

The appeal to Lenin's theoretical legacy and practical activity, the speaker observed, was the powerful source which enabled our party to penetrate the most complex dialectics of contemporary world processes, move beyond class boundaries of the comprehension of values common to all mankind and make the struggle for the survival of world civilization the nucleus of the new political thinking. This paved the way toward constructive dialogue with the world community. Real progress has been made in disarmament, the settlement of regional conflicts and the expansion of mutually profitable cooperation between countries in the solution of acute global problems.

The Ukrainian Communist Party attaches great significance to the Ukrainian SSR's active participation in international life. In recent years the republic has presented at sessions of the UN General Assembly and other international organizations important initiatives on various aspects of disarmament and international security, environmental protection, and the defense of human rights. They have been extensively supported by other countries. A new feature is the

establishment of economic, scientific, and cultural relations with a number of countries of Europe and the American continent on the basis of bilateral agreements. Cooperation has been initiated with overseas companies by way of the creation of joint ventures. Trips of our citizens abroad both on official business and on a private basis are becoming customary.

Nonetheless, the republic's incorporation in international life is proceeding slowly as yet. It is essential to complete a mechanism of the Union republics' realization of their sovereignty. We support the Ukraine's direct participation in the all-European process. Much has to be done to strengthen export potential, overcome the mistrust of foreign business, and train personnel. The question of the exchange with foreign states of diplomatic and consular offices is on the agenda. The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee will support public diplomacy and the public's activity in extending ties to Ukrainians living in other countries.

In conclusion V.A. Ivashko said that many people are well aware of the apt expression to the effect that it was not Marxism that had command of Vladimir Ilich but, on the contrary, Lenin who had command of Marxism. It is this we all frequently lack today, when the debate on Lenin and Leninism is not of an abstract-theoretical but practical-political nature. I would like to express the confidence that the celebration of the present anniversary will contribute to mastery of Lenin's philosophy of social development and the accomplishment of the tasks that have been set us by life itself.

Lenin and his ideas have been and will be with us!

The ceremonial meeting was declared closed. Its participants sang the party anthem "The International."

A concert of masters of the arts and artistic ensembles was then performed.

Moldavian Authorities Create 'Ecological Police' to Monitor Environment

Plan Borrows From Austrian Model

90WN0058A Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 18 Mar 90 p 4

[Article by G.I. Kostaki, militia colonel, member, Moldavian SSR Journalists Union: "Ecology Police? Yes!"]

[Text] Perestroika processes and society's democratization cannot yield results without the necessary protection, rational utilization, and renewal of natural resources for the good of man, for his right to a healthy, full life. This is what the republic's social movement is demanding all the more vocally and persistently.

And it must be given its due: The 18th Moldavian CP Central Committee Plenum, have considered the issue "Of the political aspects of perestroika in the republic and the activity of the Moldavian Communist Party under new conditions" in its 1 March 1990 resolution demanded radical policy renewal in the area of the ecology, and a restructuring of the program of nature utilization in accordance with all the specifics of the territory's economic potential.

G.I. Kostaki, candidate of jurisprudence, reflects upon certain paths to the realization of these tasks, on the legal basis of environmental protection relations, and on the role of the law enforcement organs in the area of the ecology. Georgiy Ignatyevich is known to republic readers through his works in the area of rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens, and the strengthening of socialist legality and law and order.

In this case, we shall speak of ensuring rights not in general terms, but of man's chief right—the right to life, for his existence is indivisible from nature, meaning that healthy nature is the basis for man's healthy life. From this stems our constitutional right, which, unfortunately, ecological specialists do not always cite. But after all, many statutes of our republic's constitution directly address the subject under consideration. In particular, articles such as 10, 12, 13, 18, 40, 71, 26, and others are directly aimed at regulating the ecological program in the Moldavian SSR.

Let us take Article 18, for example. It emphasizes that in the Moldavian SSR, in the interests of future generations, necessary measures are being taken for the protection and scientifically based, rational utilization of the earth and its mineral wealth, water resources, plant and animal kingdom, for conservation in water and air quality, for ensuring the renewal of natural riches, and improving man's environment. Such a constitutional basis is exceptionally important for a republic as densely populated as ours, in which ecological problems are being manifested particularly acutely.

In the document at the 18th Moldavian CP Central Committee Plenum, the negligent attitude toward the protection and utilization of the territory's natural

resources underwent serious criticism; as a result of this attitude, over the last 25 years, more than 12,000 hectares of field-protecting forest strips have been uprooted, more than 80 percent of the land has been plowed, and chemicals and land reclamation have been introduced intensively in all locations.

All of this has led to a state where almost 700,000 hectares, that is, one-third of the agricultural lands, the fertile soil layer, is subject to erosion. Because of the errors committed, the annual harvest shortfall in the republic is reaching R250 million today. The irrigation system using the waters of the Danube in southern Moldavia bears witness to the criminal attitude to the earth. As a result, enormous capital investment has been squandered, and in effect, thousands and thousands of people worked full strength for nothing.

Sociological research conducted by specialists of the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences also testified to the doom of the famous Moldavian chernozems, saturated with various chemical compounds, the disappearance of certain species of flora and fauna and the result of the soulless industrialization of agriculture, and the many other things that threaten man's very existence.

Thus, 93 percent of the residents of the city of Beltsy polled feel that the worsening health of the Beltsy residents is associated with the ecological troubles in the city. Only 13 percent of those polled assessed their health as being "good." For them, the most serious concern is caused by the status of the air, the quality of the drinking water, the sanitary condition of the streets, parks, squares, residential courtyards, territory of enterprises and the numerous warehouses, street, plant, and factory noise, litter and pollution (by waste water, industrial and food wastes) of standing water bodies and rivers, and the depletion of water sources. And to all of this should be added the chemicalization of agriculture, the destruction of forests and nature reserves, wild animals and birds, the threat to the environment from animal breeding complexes and their various waste collectors, etc.; it is not hard to imagine the dangers to which human health is being subjected.

Each such violation testifies to the anti-morality in the activity of individual organizations of enterprises and citizens. In light of this, attention is drawn to the weakness of the law enforcement function in the area of natural resources both on the part of the republic as a whole and of the corresponding state organs in the center and in the provinces. This is also evidenced by the data of the sociological studies by the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences which we already cited (interested parties may familiarize themselves with these in TRIBUNA, No 5 1989).

Where is the way out? If we speak in general terms, then the utmost strengthening of the system of protecting the environment on the basis of introducing administrative-legal and economic levers, the intensification of the public's role in control over the realization of the the

ecological programs adopted and in resolving issues associated with the placement of new production lines is necessary, increasing the level of ecological awareness of civic responsibility of the population. The population of the republic itself is calling the concrete steps. It demands first and foremost stiff sanctions for the violation of legislation on environmental protection, as well as the creation of new parks, squares, street greenery, and the most rapid possible solution for the problem of treatment facilities, etc.

Environmental protection tasks are given particular attention in the recently adopted Foundations of the legislation of the Union of SSRs and the union republics on land. Looking at articles 16, 40, and 53 of these Foundations is sufficient for understanding the state's deep concern. For example, Article 16, "The rights and responsibilities of farmers," directly prescribes the need to "utilize effectively the land granted to the land user, to apply environmental protection production technology, and to prevent the deterioration of the ecological situation in the territory as the result of his economic activity," as well as to implement renewal and increased fertility of soil, and the land productivity of the forest reserve."

The state organs are adopting the necessary measures for land preservation within the framework of general union and republic programs.

Responsibility for violation of the land legislation is regulated by Article 53 of these Foundations. Parties guilty of this bear civil, administrative, or criminal responsibility in accordance with the legislation of the Union of SSRs, union, and autonomous republics. Enterprises, institutions, organizations, and citizens are required to compensate damage caused by them as the result of the violation of the land legislation, and the deleterious effects on the land caused by their activity. As we see, the new legislation on the land gives the regulation of environmental protection relations particular significance. The Foundations of legislation on the land also specifies "the creation of new or fortification of existing state organs ensuring state control over the utilization and protection of the land on an interdepartmental basis." Such a presentation of the matter is entirely logical. Until the environmental protection system established starts working properly, it should not only be improved upon, but seriously reconstructed.

In connection with this, a special organ, the Administration of the Ecology Police, is now being created at the initiative of Minister V.N. Voronin. This initiative is actively supported by Moldavian SSR Goskompriroda Chairman I.V. Popovich.

The Administration of the Ecology Police is guided in its work by USSR and Moldavian SSR laws, the corresponding decisions of the MVD collegium, methodology recommendations, and the special instructions of the Moldavian SSR State Committee for Environmental Protection and Forestry.

On the whole, the administration being created is entrusted with the task of ensuring proper monitoring of strict observance of the Moldavian SSR Constitution, the laws and sub-legal acts of the republic organs aimed at supporting normal ecological conditions in the republic. More concretely, this is expressed in functional demonstrations, timely warnings, suppression, and revelation of ecological violations and crimes; in the increased efficacy of the fight against poaching, and the implementation of state monitoring of basin air pollution by automotive transportation. The administration's particular tasks will be: protecting natural resources from criminal encroachment; revealing incidents of illegal export by farms; warehousing and storage of pesticides, mineral fertilizers, toxic solid and liquid industrial wastes; the adoption of expedient measures for the cleaning up accidental discharges into the environment of hazardous substances.

It is not difficult to understand that the successful resolution of these and other tasks will make possible an improvement of the republic's ecological status.

The structure of the Administration of the Ecology Police is composed to encompass the republic's entire region in its influence. It will comprise highly qualified specialists. That is why we will need many young, energetic staffers.

We are frequently asked, are there analogous organs in other union republics? Are we copying something from someone? There is no such administration anywhere in our country. Even in world practice, such forms of environmental protection are still only being "felt out." Now, according to our data, a police subdivision for combatting ecological crimes and violations, the "Ecology police," has been created in only one country—in Austria.

Here is just some of the information we have about the police. Its chief task is the fight against a particular type of crime—harming nature and the environment, monitoring the work of industrial enterprises and institutions, and preventing violations of the law on environmental protection. It is interesting that the associates of this police have sat down in class to study biology, chemistry, and physics. The ecology police patrol not only parks, streets, and recreation sites, but the territory of industrial enterprises as well. Apparatus installed in the patrol car makes possible immediate air and water analyses at the scene. We would add that the new service in Austria is outfitted with the most up-to-date communications equipment. It has at its disposal specially equipped patrol vehicles prepared to get to the scene of the event at any moment, and to quickly conduct all the necessary soil, water, and air studies. As IZVESTIYA reported in September of last year, in the short period of their activity, these ecology police conducted 840 investigations, and in 345 instances, the case was handed over to the procuracy.

Both the MVD and Moldavian SSR Goskompriroda, in assigning the new subdivision exceptional significance, feel that it would be most expedient to study the experience of the Austrian ecology police in depth, for which two or three of our specialists should be sent there. We should also purchase in Austria several prepared, equipped specialized vehicles. True, all of this requires hard currency which we do not have at our disposal. But, as they say, "there are good people in the world." One of them is Moldavian SSR People's Deputy S.F. Fandofan, manager of the Center for Foreign Economic Activity of the Moldavian SSR Agro-industrial Union, who took upon himself the resolution of difficult organizational issues. The Moldavian SSR minister of internal affairs and Moldavian SSR Goskompriroda have already developed and confirmed a personnel structure and estimate for maintaining this administration, and the necessary documents and materials have been prepared for consideration by the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers, according to which, positive conclusions have already been given by the Ministry of Finance and republic Gosplan.

Public Reaction to Plan

90WN0058B Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA
in Russian 28 Mar 90 p 4

[Readers' response to G.I. Kostaki's article: "Ecology Police? Yes!"]

[Text] The G.I. Kostaki article "Ecology Police? Yes!" published in our newspaper on 18 March of this year elicited the readers' broad interest; many of them sent their views on the problems touched upon in the article, and several constructive proposals were expressed.

In emphasizing that the problem of environmental protection is taking on a global character today, Doctor of Jurisprudence Yu.N. Todyka, senior reviewer of the department for issues of legislation and law and order of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Secretariat writes:

"Nature knows no boundaries and it pollution in one region cannot fail to leave traces in another. Every citizen has the right to a favorable environment, and in our view, this right should be fixed both the the new USSR Constitution and the Moldavian SSR Constitution. Incidentally, in November 1989, our republic introduced to the Fundamental Law a principally important statute: The soviets of people's deputies are obliged to ensure environmental protection and the rational utilization of natural resources. On the one hand, this statute reflects an intensification of the authority and responsibility of the soviets in the area of the ecology, and on the other, an understanding of how important it is to utilize the entire potential of people power for the resolution of one of the most urgent problems for the republic. It seems that this Moldavian SSR innovation will be accepted by general union legislation as well, and also by the constitutional legislation of other republics.

"The adoption by the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet of the Long-term comprehensive program for environmental protection and rational utilization of the natural resources of the Moldavian SSR until 2005, as well as the adoption of corresponding territorial programs by local soviets, testifies to the fact that the representative organs of power assign ever greater attention to the problem of the quality of the environment. It bears today not only an ecological, but a vividly expressed economic and political character, and is located at the center of the social movement in the republic.

"In our view, the establishment of an ecology police is a principally important step toward the creation of an integrated state mechanism for environmental protection in the republic. It is necessary to emphasize that the efforts of the MVD in the creation of this structural subdivision are proceeding in the vein of ensuring legality in the area of environmental protection, and the rights of the citizens of the republic to a favorable environment, to the creation of normal conditions for their life activity. After all, to a significant degree, the quality of the environment determines the quality of life itself.

"We feel that the close association of efforts of Goskompriroda and the ecology police of the Moldavian SSR MVD, and the activation of all elements of the republic political system in issues of environmental protection and rational utilization of nature will make it possible to more expediently resolve the urgent problems in this area. Along with this, a substantial renewal of the environmental protection legislation is required, an increase in the level of the ecological expertise of the entire population, especially that of the body of deputies and officials. Such work is already being conducted, but it should be intensified."

Definite attention was paid in G.I. Kostaki's article to the unfavorable ecological situation in a number of cities in the republic, particularly in Beltsy. And it is therefore completely natural that residents of this city (T. Rotaru, B. Burduzha, Ye. Nastas, and others) responded to it immediately. "Apparently all other measures for the protection of nature have been exhausted, since the MVD is taking this up," they write. It gladdens us that our republic is becoming the initiator. We are certain that the association of the efforts of the MVD, Moldavian SSR Goskompriroda, and the societies for the protection of nature and other public organizations, as well as the soviets of people's deputies, will finally ensure a favorable ecological environment not only in Beltsy, but in Rybnitsa, Kishinev, and other cities, and will ensure conditions for man's survival."

Several letters came from the village of Streshen. "I am in favor of the ecology police" was the title of one of them sent by T.P. Savchenko, department manager of the rayon newspaper MIRNYY TRUD.

"So many times Ya.I. Bakalu, a doctor of the sanitation and epidemiological station, and I have complained that

there is no militia man with us during our raids. You're checking, for example, the sanitary condition of a population point. You see mountains of garbage everywhere, illegal dumps. You establish the identity of the person doing these outrageous things. You rebuke him, form the complaint, send the document to the administrative commission, and there, the majority of complaints sit in file folders. And what good will come of it if they look at it? The maximum fine is 10 rubles. Seeing this impunity, many continue to mock nature all the more.

"It also happens that you find a person felling trees on the scene, and he comes at you with the ax. We recently found Olimpiada Muntyanu, a resident of the village of Gelauza, doing this: She was burning dry grass to prepare the soil for plowing. Next to this was a stand of acacias, which, incidentally, had been seriously thinned out at the hands of seekers of free firewood. Olimpiada Muntyanu intended to plow the ground in a landslip section. We rebuked and warned her, and she let loose with some uncensored verbal abuse. But if there had been a militia man there... I will not take it upon myself to make any sort of recommendations about the future ecology police, but it seems that one of its functions must be to apply harsher measures against violators of environmental protection laws. It is necessary to appeal to citizens' conscience, but it is also necessary to punish.

"The ecology police must work in close contact with the editorial boards of newspapers and magazines, radio and television, and with the public. And, as they say, it is necessary to put the reins into a strong hand right away. Enough of being liberal."

V.Ye. Pushkash, chairman of the Streshenskiy Rayon Committee for Environmental Protection and Forestry, reports that the G.I. Kostaki article was discussed in the committee, and that the committee "approves the measures undertaken by the MVD and Goskompriroda in the creation of ecological structure in the body of the republic law enforcement organs, and assumes that this will lead to the recovery of the outdoor environment, and places of human dwelling, to the improvement of health indices for the citizens of the Moldavian SSR."

And this is what Ye.I. Kovtun, deputy ispolkom chairman of the Streshen village soviet of people's deputies writes:

"The idea of creating in Moldavia an Administration of ecology police is important and a burning issue. The need for such a formation has long since become urgent, and we can only regret that so much time has been wasted, for the ecological situation has in many ways taken on a threatening nature today. And this issue is particularly topical for our republic, since under the conditions of high population density, it is very complicated to preserve land, water, and air suitable for habitation if strict control over the utilization of natural resources is not established. The least violation of legislation on environmental protection should be nipped in the bud.

"Everyone must fully share responsibility for protecting the environment. Unfortunately, many have a consumeristic attitude toward nature, pursuing egotistical, and frequently mercantile interests. The need for a specialized ecological service is obvious.

"Of course, the new Administration will have many difficulties, since this is a new cause. It seems that even more difficulties will arise in the rayon departments of the police, where it is harder with personnel, and the technology opportunities are extremely limited. I hope that the newly-elected people's deputies will give them active support and assistance in the provinces. After all, many of them included the resolution of ecological problems in their pre-election platforms. Nor should the ispolkoms of local soviets remain on the sidelines.

"If right now, immediately, without skimping in this important cause, we manage to form a strong police service, then we will win in the most precious thing, in people's health; we will acquire confidence in our children's tomorrow."

D.A. Mirskiy, senior scientific associate of the pedagogical NII [Scientific Research Institute] and candidate of pedagogical sciences, and honored Moldavian SSR schoolteacher, views the article in a different light, reporting that the newspaper's publication was discussed at the institute's scientific council from the position of scientific-teaching activity in the field of the ecology. D.A. Mirskiy writes that this activity "is being conducted over a long period, executed by scientists of the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences, associates of Moldavian SSR Goskompriroda, the Society for Environmental Protection and their branches in the provinces, schoolteachers, and VUZ instructors."

And further: "Many books and articles, scientific and popular-science, have been published in recent years; they cover the problems of the ecology in fair detail, as well as the issues of our republic's environmental protection associated with them. A careful analysis of school texts and programs indicates that these issues find their proper reflection in them."

In the concepts of teaching students in the general educational schools of Moldavia now being developed by the pedagogical NII of the Ministry of Public Education, and in many school subjects, great attention is paid to ecological issues. However, they do not cover the legal side of the problem concretely.

Is it possible that the ecological program does not have its legal defense? Yet G.I. Kostaki indicates that many articles in our republic's constitution are directly geared toward the regulation of the ecological program in the Moldavian SSR. The problem lies elsewhere—as the article's author notes, in the weakness of the "law enforcement function in the area of natural resources, both on the part of the republic as a whole, and of the corresponding organs in the center and in the provinces." "Thus the proposal for the creation of an Administration of ecology police, whose most important task

will be 'expeditious discovery, timely warnings, suppression, and revelation of ecological violations and crimes' is completely well founded and necessary.

"In fully approving of the recommendations of the article's author, candidate of jurisprudence Colonel G.I. Kostaki, it should be emphasized that the Administration of the Ecology Police being created can implement its program successfully only in the event that it has for this purpose not only the legal, but the necessary material-technical resources."

Note must be taken of one more troubled response from a reader. T.I. Kazakova, a resident of the city of Kishinev, a participant in the Great Patriotic War, and former military medic, writes us:

"We have become accustomed to the fact that the activity of the militia has been directed toward supporting public order on the streets, fighting hooliganism, etc., and suddenly, ecology police! And this is good. Everyone should know that if such a department takes up the cause, especially together with the committee for environmental protection, then order will finally be imposed, and the air we breathe and the water we drink will become cleaner, and the noise on the street that drives many to neurasthenia will be reduced.

"But everyone must help this new Administration. I am already over 70, I haven't got long to live. Tell me, dear editors, where can I send a portion of my modest pension? I would do this with great pleasure. I also request that the honorarium for this notice be credited to environmental protection.

"It is a very good thing that the MVD, and the minister personally, have concerned themselves with people's health. God help them in this..."

As we see, the readers take close to their heart all the problems of the ecology that are now moving to the forefront; they are glad for every opportunity to improve the entire system of environmental protection.

Geographer Summarizes Ukrainian Ecological Concerns

90WN0048A Kiev *EKONOMIKA SOVETSKOY UKRAINY* in Russian No 3, Mar 90

[Article by F. Zastavnyy, professor and doctor of geographic sciences from Lvov: "Pressing Problems of Environmental Protection and the Rational Use of Natural Resources in the Ukraine"]

[Text] In contemporary conditions when the negative influence of industrial activity on nature has reached a high level and continues to increase incessantly, environmental protection and the rational use of natural resources have become a problem of great significance for the national economy. The problem has been placed on the agenda with special urgency in highly urbanized areas where heavy industry is very developed, where the

negative influence of man on the environment is especially significant. In a number of regions pollution of the air, water and land already exceeds allowable limits many times over. In some places a critically dangerous ecological situation has developed.

The Ukrainian SSR belongs to a group of the most ecologically tense regions of the country. While occupying less than three percent of the USSR territory, the republic concentrates more than 18 percent of the entire population of the Soviet Union and produces one-fifth of its manufactured goods and one-fourth of its agricultural production.

Because of the population distribution which has developed, the territorial characteristics of natural conditions and the concentration of natural resources, as well as the special nature of the economic-geographical position of the Ukraine, an uneven settlement took place historically; there are large regional differences in the level of development and in the structure of the types of production, especially in heavy industry. An extremely high density of population and production and, consequently, a very critical ecological situation has developed in the Donbass region. Although this region occupies only 8.8 percent of the Ukrainian SSR territory, 16 percent of the republic's population resides there, including 22 percent of the urban population. The following comparisons testify to the high density of industry in the Donbass especially those types of production, which because of their technology and insufficient environmental controls, have the most negative influence on the environment: this region accounts for 21 percent of the total industrial production of the republic including 64 percent of fuel production, 43 percent of the ferrous metal production, 31 percent of the chemical and petroleum production and 25 percent of the electrical power production.

The region near the Dnepr river occupies second place in population density and the level of industrial concentration. This region accounts for 9.8 percent of the territory and approximately 12 percent of the population of the republic (including 14 percent of the urban population). At the same time this region accounts for 18 percent of the industrial output of the Ukrainian SSR, including 52 percent of ferrous metal production, more than 22 percent of electrical power output and 13 percent of the chemical and petroleum refining. It should be emphasized that in the Dnepr region, as in the Donbass, a large portion of the production and the population is concentrated in a limited area: in the Donbass - in the industrial area itself and in the Dnepr region - in a narrow strip along the Dnepr. Precisely in these places, due to unacceptably high levels of air, land and water contamination, the problem of environmental protection and the rational use of natural resources is very critical.

The following areas in the Ukraine belong to the group of zones which are most critical in an ecological sense: the Carpathian region, Northern Crimea, the northern portion of the Sumskaya oblast and the territory of the

Cherkasskaya oblast near the Dnepr, Kiev with its high-capacity chemical and petroleum-chemical industry, a number of rayons in the Kievskaya, Kharkovskaya, Ivano-Frankovskaya, Vinnitskaya, Rovenskaya, Khmel-nitskaya, Zaporozhskaya and Odesskaya oblasts with their large facilities for the production of electrical and nuclear energy. A large array of ecological measures are being taken and will be taken in the future to lower the radiation contamination in the zone near the Chernobyl nuclear power plant where the largest nuclear accident took place at the end of April 1986.

It is well-known that the Ukrainian SSR is an important region of intensive farming and livestock raising which has the highest percent of its territory devoted to agricultural production in the country; 56.6 percent of its land is cultivated, when, for example, in the neighboring Moldavian SSR and the Belorussian SSR, which are highly developed, only 52 percent and 30 percent of the land respectively is devoted to this use (in the country as a whole the figure is 10.2 percent). Or this example: the Ukraine has 7.5 percent of the agricultural land in the country, 15.1 percent of its arable land, 6.2 percent of its hay production and 1.6 percent of its pastures. At the same time the republic produces more than 20 percent of the country's grain harvest and approximately 25 percent of its meat and milk.

The intensive use of the land, the widespread utilization of powerful, heavy agricultural equipment for carrying out field work has a negative influence of the mechanical composition, the air and water structure of the soil and reduces its fertility. The insufficient application of organic fertilizers to the fields along with the accompanying intense agricultural utilization of the land promotes a loss of humus, an extremely valuable component, with which the Ukrainian chernozem soils are especially blessed.

Rapidly growing cities undoubtedly exert an ever-increasing influence on the ecological situation. There are 429 cities and 916 urban-type villages in the republic, among which are ten cities with a population of more than a half million people (of these five have more than a million), and 12 cities with 250-500 thousand people. During the period 1959-1987 the number of urban dwellers in the Ukrainian SSR increased almost by 80 percent. It is precisely in the rapidly growing cities, especially in the large ones, that the ecological situation is considered the most critical.

In conditions of the increasing influence of man on the environment one of the pressing problems of economic and social development of the republic and the majority of its regions is the general concern about increasing the scale and expanding the scope of conservation measures, about improving the effectiveness of environmental protection, about the increase in the complex utilization of natural resources and raw materials, about taking effective measures to conserve resources. In other words, we

are talking about the necessity of significantly lowering the negative effect of man's economic activities on nature.

In recent years in our country attention towards problems of environmental protection has increased significantly. A more and more active role in the their resolution has been delegated to science and the general public on the basis of democratization and glasnost. The rights and capabilities of the local organs of power have expanded considerably. A growing amount of material and financial resources is being allocated to the rational use and protection of water, land and forest resources, to maintaining air quality. In addition, state capital investment in the work indicated above has noticeably increased. If during the period 1973-1975 (statistics on this issue began to be published in 1973) average annual investment in programs on environmental protection and the rational use of natural resources was 309 million rubles, then in 1987 it reached 434 million rubles.¹ The total sum of all expenditures on environmental protection and the rational use of natural resources (including expenditures for water management) for the period 1981-1987 was 10.3 billion rubles including 1.7 billion rubles for 1987.

In the Ukraine the protection of widely used water resources which more and more are in short supply is especially relevant and critical. In the republic approximately 60 percent of all state capital investment allocated for environmental protection (1987 - 269 million rubles) is spent for this purpose. We are talking, in particular, about financial and material resources directed towards the protection of the very polluted waters of the basins of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, the maintenance and improvement in the condition of small rivers and reservoirs, an improvement in the effectiveness of purification facilities and equipment, a broader utilization of recycled and mine water, the scientifically based territorial reallocation of water resources and their economic usage. The unevenness of water resource distribution throughout the republic as well as its increasing shortage is felt most acutely in the southern and central oblasts and requires immediate and radical measures for the widespread introduction of water conservation technologies, first of all, for the organization of clean types of production, economic water usage for irrigation and its rational use in industry, communal farming, and in every day life.

Recently work has been done to improve water conservation: during the years of the eleventh five year plan on the whole throughout the Ukraine the dumping of contaminated waste was reduced almost by half; the level continued to fall at the beginning of the twelfth five year plan. Despite this the problem is still a long way from being resolved - in a number of large enterprises, especially in the ferrous metal industry, petroleum and chemical industry, coal industry, food processing industry and others, a significant percentage of the water utilized is not treated. In 1987, for example, the volume

of contaminated waste dumped in the republic was more than one billion cubic meters.

At the same time it should be noted that many republic oblasts (Volynskaya, Donetskaya, Zakarpatskaya, Kievskaya, Lvovskaya, Rovenskaya, Kharkovskaya, Khmel'nitskaya, Cherkasskaya, Chernovitskaya, and Chernigovskaya) have gained positive experience that deserves dissemination - the proportion of waste which is treated according to standards comprises approximately 90 percent and more (in the Kiev area this figure is 99.5 percent).

Special attention is merited by the question of the maintenance, rational use and prevention of the contamination of ground water, the economic consumption of fresh water, of which there is an increasing shortage, and which on the average amounted to 28-32 million cubic meters per year in the Ukraine during the period 1980-1987. In addition, the major part of this volume is consumed by six water-poor southern oblasts - Dnepropetrovskaya (3.9 million cubic meters), Zaporozhskaya (4.3), Donetskaya (2.6), Krymskaya (2.4), Khersonskaya (2.1) and Odesskaya (1.6). Water consumption in the western and northern regions of the Ukrainian SSR, which are better supplied with fresh water resources, in particular, with the cleanest reserves of ground water, is relatively light. Thus, in the Chernovitskaya and Zakarpatskaya oblasts the volume of water consumption in 1987 was 0.1 million cubic meters each, in the Ternopolskaya and Volynskaya oblasts the figure was 0.2, in the Sumskaya, Rovenskaya, Zhitomirskaya, Ivano-Frankovskaya and Chernigovskaya oblasts it was 0.3.

Along with fresh water in the Ukraine recycled and consecutive-use water has also been brought into use in economic activity; recently its volume has been 57-64 million cubic meters per year. However, the shortage of water resources in the Ukraine requires a more complete exploitation of this resource as well. This problem has acquired special urgency in water-poor regions where the consumption volume of recycled and consecutive-use water is already rather significant. Suffice it to say that in 1987 the highly industrialized Donetskaya oblast accounted for more than 20 percent of the total volume of this type of water consumed in the republic. At the same time the southern portions of the Ukraine have the reserves for introducing recycled and consecutive-use water into the economy. Unfortunately, these reserves are not being fully utilized. For example, the proportion of recycled and consecutive use water of the total water volume used for production needs in the water-poor southern oblasts of the Ukraine in 1987 was only 54-76 percent (the republic average is 79.7 percent).

It is also important to resolve other questions which are closely associated with these. By this we mean continued improvement in the distribution of the productive forces, the orientation of new construction, reconstruction and technical retooling of operating production sites towards rayons better supplied with water resources, a

switch to the construction of enterprises with nonwater-intensive technologies, as well as carrying out water conservation wherever possible. The oblasts of the western and northern portions of the republic have the most favorable opportunities for deploying new production facilities (although new industrial construction should be limited there as much as possible).

Land resources in the Ukrainian SSR are characterized by the predominance of agricultural usage. Maintaining these resources for agriculture, taking immediate measures to prevent a decline in soil fertility and to improve the chemical composition of the soil, increasing on this basis the volume of production and improving the quality of agricultural products is a vital task of paramount importance which requires an immediate solution.

As is known, a significant part of the fertile, humus-rich top soil in the Ukraine as well as other regions of the country is systematically lost due to water and wind erosion. The regions most severely subjected to water erosion include the Ukrainian Carpathians; the Podolskaya, Pridneprovskaya and Srednerusskaya hills, the Donbass and the Crimean Mountains. In the south-eastern Ukrainian SSR wind erosion exerts a negative influence on soil quality. In addition, approximately 5-7 thousand hectares, including arable land and other agricultural land, are set aside each year for the storage of waste materials, slag, etc. The most significant areas for this purpose have been set aside in the Donbass and Dnepr regions where, as we know, large-scale coal and iron ore extraction operations are concentrated. The areas which have been disrupted by anthropogenic development (predominantly by industrial production) comprise more than 250 thousand hectares in the republic. Despite a noticeable decrease in land, especially fertile land, earmarked for nonagricultural purposes, the amount set aside for the needs of industry, transportation, cities, etc., is quite significant. In the future along with the necessity of a drastic reduction in lands set aside for agricultural needs, we are faced with improving the utilization of large tracts of land already being used for this purpose.

In many areas of the Ukraine the quality of land has gotten worse due to the poor quality of irrigation and drainage work in land reclamation programs. On a limited scale liming of acidic soils and the application of gypsum to saline soils are carried out. The contamination of agricultural lands by chemical substances is cause for special concern. As a result many toxic substances accumulate in the soil which have a negative influence on the quality of plant and animal products and which drastically reduce their marketability. Work on maintaining field-protecting forest belts planted in the past is progressing slowly, especially in the steppe and forest-steppe zones where currently they only comprise approximately 50 percent of protective plantings.

We would like to call attention to the fact that rather limited financial resources are expended on the protection and rational use of land in the Ukraine - approximately 60 million rubles of capital investment per year. The resources go towards the creation of field-protecting forest plantings, the terracing of steep slopes, the construction of antierosion, hydrotechnical, landslide-preventing and other kinds of structures (including structures to shore up river banks). Also included in this category are measures directed towards recultivating lands which were ruined in the process of industrial and construction activity, working in agriculture to maintain soil fertility by using progressive methods of cultivation. In fact, very recently the area under recultivation has grown considerably; if it comprised 12.5 thousand hectares in 1976, then in 1987 it had increased to 25.9 thousand hectares. However, it should be noted, that the volume of work underway on the recultivation of land is very small. It needs to be significantly expanded and, mainly, we need to increase the fertility of this type of land, especially in those areas which are returning to agriculture.

An important direction in environmental protection and the rational use of natural resources in the Ukraine is the fight against water and wind erosion. Work is already being conducted in this direction. During the period 1976-1985, for example, the area under cultivation by stubble-mulch tillage without use of the mouldboard plow increased from 2.1 to 8.3 million hectares, terracing of steep slopes (1976-1987) increased from 0.2 to 0.3 million hectares, the value of the construction of antierosion, hydrotechnical, landslide-preventing and other types of structures increased from 10.7 to 98.3 million rubles; the area of crops sowed by special antierosion planters (1976-1985) increased from 2.1 to 2.2 million hectares. Future plans call for a drastic expansion of the work underway to protect the land. The growing urgency of this problem is explained first of all by the fact that at the beginning of the current five year plan the number of measures undertaken to protect the soil from erosion and the fight against drought in the Ukraine had decreased noticeably (in 1987, for example, the area encompassed by terracing of steep slopes had decreased to 0.3 million hectares in comparison to the 1985 level of 0.7 million, and capital investment in the construction of antierosion, hydrotechnical, landslide-preventing, and other types of structures had decreased from 52 to 48.3 million rubles.)

The high territorial concentration in the Ukraine of large-scale sites of heavy industrial production leads to an elevated level of hazardous chemical emissions into the atmosphere. In the republic work is underway to protect the atmosphere. This is achieved by the construction of gas and particle filtering facilities, the implementation of low-emission technologies, the utilization of hazardous substances, the use of ecologically clean forms of fuel, etc. As a result during the eleventh five year plan and the first years of the twelfth five year plan the volume of these emissions essentially stabilized. In 1987,

for example, the total volume of hazardous substances captured (rendered harmless) by the gas and particle filtering equipment and facilities in the republic was 35.4 million tons, of which only 15.6 million tons were utilized.

Obviously, most of the hazardous substances were captured in the more industrially developed oblasts where the large-scale enterprises of the chemical, ferrous metal and electric power industries which pollute the atmosphere are located. Just in the Donetskaya, Dnepropetrovskaya and Voroshilovgradskaya oblasts approximately 20 million tons per year are captured which comprises almost 60 percent of the total volume in the republic. Only a portion of the captured hazardous materials are utilized (1987 - 75.4 percent). Noticeable positive shifts in cleaning up the air in the Ukrainian SSR have yet to take place. The capture of such rather widespread hazardous substances like nitric oxide, carbon dioxide, sulfuric anhydrides and others which often form so-called "acid rains" remains insignificant. The problem of ridding the atmosphere of contamination will continue to increase in urgency in the future as well. We have to take into account the circumstance that the Soviet Ukraine is located in the extreme western portion of the country very close to the industrially developed states of Europe where air pollution is rather heavy. With the dominance of east to west movements of air masses, air pollution in the republic increases as a result.

If we were to give an overall evaluation of the emissions of hazardous substances into the atmosphere in the Ukraine, we would say that they remain quite significant and are characterized by considerable territorial differentiation. For example, the maximum amount of hazardous substance emissions in 1987 from stationary sources was registered in Krivoy Rog - 1289.9 thousand tons. Of this amount 1074.8 thousand tons were gaseous and liquid substances, 215.1 thousand tons were solids. In turn, among gaseous and liquid emissions carbon dioxide is predominant (931.5 thousand tons) followed by sulfuric anhydrides (98.7), nitric oxide (36.9 thousand tons). Heavy emissions of hazardous substances into the atmosphere take place in Mariupol (785.8 thousand tons), Kerchi (375.0), Dnepropetrovsk (321.2), Makeyevka (318.9), Zaporozhye (287.1), Kommunarisk (251.4 thousand tons) and several other cities. These emissions remain high in many large cities of the republic: In Donetsk they comprise 194.1 thousand tons, Odessa - 106.8, Kiev - 93.8 thousand tons. Unfortunately, we must note that it is becoming ecologically dangerous to reside in a number of cities of the republic.

The problem of protecting forest resources is also an urgent one in the Ukraine. Forests purify the air and increase its humidity, accumulate precipitation and distribute surface runoff more evenly over time, protect steep slopes from erosion, etc.

The implementation of a multifaceted plan of work to protect forests from pests, disease and fire is of paramount importance in the republic. This can be explained

by the fact that the area of forest tracts damaged by disease and pests in the Ukraine is quite large and comprises approximately 250 thousand hectares. Forest tracts in the forest-steppe and steppe zones, as well as a number of less densely forested areas of the woodlands, have suffered the worst damage from disease. Their protection from pests and disease using the biological method in 1987 was conducted over an area of more than 222.4 thousand hectares. A portion of the forests, primarily fire-susceptible conifers (their territory comprises about half of the area of all forests and are mainly located in the northern part of the republic) systematically are subjected to fires. In order to discover and extinguish fires in a timely manner an air forest protection program has been organized which covers almost 3.5 million hectares.

In the republic considerable work is underway on forest management and forest restoration projects. For example, in forests earmarked for state purposes forest management was being conducted in an area of more than 230 thousand hectares, forest restoration on 44 thousand hectares (planting of trees on 40 thousand hectares and the promotion of natural renewal on 4 thousand hectares). In addition, the area of plantings in ravines, gullies, in sand and other difficult places on the state and collective farms has been increased. In spite of this, forest protection, forest management and forest restoration measures in the Ukraine are not being carried out at full capacity. In the future we must still significantly expand work on forest restoration and forest management, and the protection of the republic's forest resources from disease, pests and fires.

The creation of protected reserves and carrying out measures on the preservation of the flora and fauna in all regions of the republic have an important conservation significance in the Ukrainian SSR whose natural landscapes have been subjected to the strong disruptive influence of man. Currently the natural preserve fund of the Ukrainian SSR consists of more than 5 thousand sites, whose area exceeds one million hectares. All basic landscapes of the Ukraine are represented by these sites and research on the plant and animal world, as well as the ecological situation, is conducted according to a unified program. Eighteen of the more protected sites account for more than 30 percent of the preserves' territory (364.6 thousand hectares): preserves, game preserves and national nature parks. A number of world renowned preserves are concentrated in the republic such as: the Askaniya-Nova preserve in the Khersonskaya oblast (founded at the end of the 19th century; in 1919 a people's preserve was created there; in 1921 a state preserve; its area comprises 11 thousand hectares), the Chernomorskiy preserve in the Khersonskaya and Nikolayevskaya oblasts (1927, 57 thousand hectares), the Ukrainian steppe preserve in the Donetskaya, Zaporozhskaya and Sumskaya oblasts (1961, 1.6 thousand hectares), the Luganskiy preserve (1968, 1.6 thousand hectares), the Carpathian preserve in the Zakarpatskaya oblast (1968, 12.7 thousand hectares), the Kanevskiy

preserve in the Cherkasskaya oblast (1931, 1 thousand hectares), the Yaltinsky mountain-forest preserve, Mys Martyan (1973, 0.2 thousand hectares) and the Karadagskiy preserve (1979, 2.9 thousand hectares) in the Krymskaya oblast, the Dunay wetlands in the Odesskaya oblast (1981, 14.8 thousand hectares) and others.

State national nature parks have been created in the Ukraine: the Carpathian in the Ivano-Frankovskaya oblast (1983, founded in 1980 as the Carpathian nature park) with an area of 50.3 thousand hectares and the Shatskiy in the Volynskaya oblast (1983) with an area of 32.5 thousand hectares.

Such public monuments of landscape art such as "Sofiyevka" in Uman, "Aleksandriya" in Belaya Tserkov, "Trostanets" in the Chernigovskaya oblast, "Veselye Bokovenki" in the Kirovogradskaya oblast and others also have become protected territories.

In the future much work will be carried out on founding and organizing new protected reserves in various regions of the republic. The questions which we have touched upon are of paramount interest to the Kirovogradskaya, Chernovitskaya and Voroshilovgradskaya oblasts where the area of protected nature reserves does not exceed 7 thousand hectares. The creation of these reserves is a very pressing issue in the steppe region in the southeastern part of the republic, the areas near the Sea of Azov, the western portion of the Podolskiye hills, in particular, in the rayons of Opolye (Ternopolskaya, Lvovskaya and Ivano-Frankovskaya oblasts) and Medobory (Ternopolskaya and Khmel'nitskaya oblasts). Preserves, national nature parks and other types could be organized in the northern portion of the steppe zone (Kirovogradskaya oblast), in the northwestern Ukrainian Carpathians as well as in Prikarpatye in the rayons near the Kotinskiye hills. The creation of protected nature reserves in the central and eastern portions of Polesye, in the Dnepr and Dnestr estuaries, the eastern and central forest-steppe zone as well as in a number of other regions of the Ukraine is of particular interest.

As a whole the problem of environmental protection and use of natural resources needs a comprehensive, complex study and better resource and financial support. This problem has acquired great urgency in the tourist areas, especially in the Crimea, in particular, in the southern extreme where in some places the number of vacationers already significantly exceeds the maximum allowable limits. This problem is of considerable urgency in the tourist zones of the inland areas near the Black Sea and Sea of Azov.

At the present time the extremely important problem of averting potential large-scale negative influences of human activity on the environment has become part of our agenda. This is an extremely urgent, pressing, very complex, not fully studied, socioeconomic and ecosocial problem, which if ignored, can lead to, and, as experience has shown, often leads to serious and difficult to predict consequences bordering on ecological catastrophes.

The accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station, as is known, involved human casualties; by the end of 1988 the consequences were measured in losses to the national economy of approximately 10 billion rubles. Near Odessa large volumes of imported highly explosive nitrogenous substances are stored which are used for the manufacture of nitrogen fertilizers. In the case of unforeseen situations this could cause irreversible damage to an extensive adjoining region. As a result of a break in the dike of a large storage pond of an enterprise which produces potash fertilizers in Stebnik (Lvovskaya oblast) and the dumping of waste into the Dnestr, this river, which used to be considered the cleanest in Europe, has become uninhabitable for many kinds of wildlife because of high contamination levels. In a number of regions water from the Dnestr has become unsuitable for use as drinking water.

The consequences of this serious accident on the future ecology of the adjoining areas have yet to be determined. It is also known that at the end of 1988 in Chernovtsy mass illness among children was caused by environmental pollution. Illness among children was also observed in the neighboring rayons of the Ivano-Frankovskaya oblast. The sources of the contamination have yet to be established.

A series of other similar and pressing large-scale ecological problems affecting a variety of aspects of human endeavors has accumulated in the republic and require appropriate scientific attention and an immediate practical solution. Special attention is required at this contemporary stage by the problem of the fate of the Dnepr artificial reservoirs. In the final analysis this problem boils down to substantiating the expediency of their existence or returning the riverbed of the Dnepr to its previous natural condition.

It is known that significant (almost the entire territory of the Chernovitskaya oblast) areas of fertile lands were set aside for the Dnepr reservoirs. These lands previously were intensively utilized in agriculture. The creation of the reservoirs required the relocation to new areas of approximately one million people. The material and financial expenditures directed towards the construction and exploitation of the hydroelectric facilities turned out to be very high. In the final analysis all of this entailed expenditures of many billions of rubles. Meanwhile the great effect which was expected was not achieved. Near the reservoirs hundreds of thousands of hectares of previously highly fertile lands have been flooded and salt-ridden and therefore have effectively been rendered unsuitable for agriculture. The fishing business also did not realize the intended significant development. At the same time blue-green algae has appeared in the Dnepr and its reservoirs which has drastically reduced the quality of the water resources. As far as the effect from the cascade of electric power stations constructed on the Dnepr is concerned, from the point of view of modern ideas and possibilities the effect has also been rather limited. At the same time a new serious and complex problem has arisen which directly affects the interests of

millions of people, the fates of large industrial sites, facilities of the social infrastructure and numerous monuments of spiritual culture. We are talking about the danger of a possible break in the Dnepr dams, especially the dams of the Kiev reservoir which would inevitably lead to the immediate flooding of extensive areas along the low-lying left bank of the Dnepr where, as is known, many large cities are located as well as a large number of villages. The potential negative consequences from this would appear to be colossal and irreversible.

In the light of what has been said, in our view, a profound scientific study on the advisability of maintaining the Dnepr reservoirs in the future, the substantiation and realization in this regard of new approaches to irrigating the southern, drought-ridden part of the Ukraine has become urgent. In particular, a deeper study of the expenditure of water resources for irrigation, the conversion to scientifically based standards of watering, a drastic reduction in water loss during land-improvement projects are issues which are of considerable interest. Undoubtedly, these questions as well as others which are associated with them, should be resolved in practice only after their adequate and comprehensive substantiation.

It is important to note that environmental protection and the rational use of natural resources has only in recent years attracted more and more attention of specialists and the general public. Previously despite the adoption of useful resolutions on environmental protection problems, they were nonetheless not fully taken into consideration in economic practice.

It is known that according to Construction Standards and Rules (SNiPAM) currently in force, there must be a certain (rather considerable) distance between a nuclear power plant and the towns where its workers reside. However, this extremely important condition, as we know, was not taken into account during construction of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant. This rule was also violated during the construction of a number of other nuclear power plants, in particular, during the creation of the powerful South-Ukrainian nuclear power plant. The town where the workers reside is located in direct proximity to the nuclear reactors.

How do we extricate ourselves from this situation? There are two possible ways: to maintain a rather large unutilized ("canned") city, which in addition, is well-built and has all the amenities, designed for several tens of thousands of residents and to create a new town for the workers at a more acceptable distance from the plant, or to rebase this city in its entirety to a place less vulnerable to radiation. In both cases large losses of state resources are inevitable. The interested ministry will have to settle accounts with society for this which was caused by narrow departmental economic voluntarism not subject to territorial control. At the same time the delay in relocating the inhabitants of the town indicated above to an ecologically less dangerous place can be interpreted as a crime with all the ensuing consequences. The question

arises - who approved the decision regarding the location of the workers' settlement (in violation of the current regulation)? Who has answered for that? Nobody. The interests of the department in this case turned out to be more important than the interests of the republic, its population.

The strict elimination of the existing flawed practice of the departmental approach to the choice of locations for the construction of nuclear power plants, which in our country as practice has shown, is motivated not by state interests but by purely industry interests. As a result the designers (from the same department as the builders), who choose from among the possible locations, attempt to pass departmental efficiency off as public efficiency. Unfortunately, it is precisely in the densely populated and economically developed regions, where the extreme territorial concentration of large-scale nuclear power plants categorically must not be allowed, that they, unfortunately, are mainly constructed. An unconvincing effort is often made to explain this by saying that in these places the territory is already settled, there are corresponding labor resources, railroads and highways have already been built, it is easier to create construction bases, expenditures on the transmission of electric energy are reduced, etc. In other words everything is cheaper, total costs to the department for the construction and operation of these facilities are reduced. However, it is necessary to emphasize in no uncertain terms that in all this we cannot forget about the possibility of unforeseen situations arising. Neutralizing a dangerous ecological situation can be, and as the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant demonstrated, is unpredictably costly. An effective mechanism for preventing irresponsible actions by the interested departments should be created.

Conducting exceptionally thorough studies at the pre-design and design levels regarding the conditions and factors of the construction of these dangerous nuclear plants is of paramount importance for guaranteeing ecological safety. Otherwise this could lead to ecological catastrophes for many regions. In choosing locations for the construction of nuclear power plants a complex study should be conducted of the sites. However, this extremely important requirement often has not been satisfied. Thus, at one time the construction of a nuclear power plant was planned for the very center of the Donbass, in Donetsk. We should do everything possible to eliminate this kind of mismanagement which allows the coal of the Donbass (this huge basin provides approximately one-third of the entire coal output of the country) to be shipped a thousand and more kilometers away (as we know, more than 100 million rubles per year are spent on this), while powerful nuclear power plants are constructed in direct proximity to it (in "energy-poor areas"). We need to state with complete clarity that from the point of view of the requirements of science regarding the distribution of the productive forces the construction of nuclear power plants in the places named above is a completely incompetent decision, and from the point of view of possible consequences, a criminal one. It is impossible to ignore the fact that a number of

extremely important and crucial problems of economic development and ecology have been given to nonspecialists for resolution. In the beginning of 1988, for example, doctors, technicians, nuclear engineers, specialists in thermal and electric energy, as well as others appeared on a program of the Ukrainian television; they all "demonstrated" that the continued accelerated growth in the nuclear power industry in the Ukraine (to a significant degree for the growth of the export of electrical energy to contiguous socialist countries) is a completely natural development since this provides for a reduction of expenditures in the transmission of electrical energy because the majority of its consumers are located in direct proximity to its production. There is no necessity to show that these comrades, who were not experts on the issue of the distribution of industrial sites, did not propose logical alternatives. Nonetheless, these alternatives do exist and they should definitely be analyzed in a comprehensive manner and taken into account in economic practice. The most promising of them is the transfer of the construction of nuclear power plants from the Ukraine to the unpopulated northern and other sparsely settled regions of the country. Undoubtedly, it is not inexpensive to create the plants there; it is more expensive to operate them and to transmit electrical energy from there. However, the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant also has not been cheap. Without a doubt in locating nuclear power plants the principle that it is necessary to consistently and strictly take into account the ecological factor should be followed religiously in economic practice. In all cases this principle should be decisive. Nobody has the right to subject the most heavily populated and developed regions of the country to the risk of an ecological catastrophe.

The intensification of scientific research and the expansion of the work on the substantiation of ecological forecasts for the republic and its regions has become of paramount importance for the resolution of these important problems. Under these conditions the consolidation of the efforts of all existing collectives dealing with environmental protection, an increase in the coordination of their activities, as well as the formation of new, efficient scientific groups are extremely important.

The initiative of the rector of the Ivan Franko Lvov State University deserves attention and support in every way possible. The initiative regards the creation of an institute of regional ecological problems which would unite the efforts of scientists of different industries and fields towards researching and elaborating proposals to improve the ecological situation in the republic and bordering socialist countries.

Footnote

1. Economy of the Ukrainian SSR in 1987. Statistical Yearbook. K., "Tekhnika", 1988, p. 406. Figures quoted further on are also borrowed from this statistical yearbook (pp 397-406).

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Official Proposes 'Ecological Bank' for Environmental Funding

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27 April 90 Second Edition p 3

[Article by N. Belyayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Bank for Housing and Municipal Services and Social Development: "A Common Bank Is the Guarantee of Success"]

[Text] The disappearance of the Aral, the Chernobyl tragedy, the ozone hole in the atmosphere—these are textbook phenomena of the same order, which the thoughtless and total use of violence against nature have caused. And here we are now sounding the alarm: It is necessary to save the planet. Understanding—there are still no actions although there should be—is not enough. The whole question is—how? How can we restore destroyed forests, fertilize exhausted soil, and clean waters polluted by sewerage?

It is not only we—throughout the world, thousands of bright minds are struggling with this problem. In our country, the hopes for ecological well-being must evidently be connected with the work now being done on the draft for the State Program for Protecting the Environment and Rationally Using Natural Resources During the 13th Five-Year Plan and out to the Year 2005.

I do not know what this program will be but I do not doubt that it will require billions in capital investments. It would probably not be bad to ask financiers where these assets will come from and how they can be distributed and used efficiently.

Contemporary ecological programs are being primarily implemented in a discordant manner, according to departmental plans, and in the traditions of that very administrative distributive system that has led us to the edge of an ecological precipice. The fact that each ministry and each branch has its own and, as a rule, budget allocated assets for environmental protection measures is bad. The trouble lies in how they understand these measures and, consequently, how they make arrangements for the millions supplied for them—again, very often in a narrow departmental way. The essence and peculiarity of ecological tasks consist of the fact that their solution moves beyond the limits of departmental horizons, affects the interests of everyone without exception and requires the combining of efforts.

What is being proposed? Here is what. An ecological complex, which is common to the entire country and which includes the carrying out of scientific, production, management, and other functions, must assume the entire volume of work and complete responsibility for improving nature's health. It is necessary to begin with that without which no project can exist in a civilized world: with a powerful and dynamic financial base. We

are talking about the establishment of a special Ecological Bank in our country as a state commercial institution.

Such a bank is needed because the strain on the state budget is unprecedented; ecological programs require more beneficial credit conditions in comparison with other programs; recoupment periods for expenditures (in view of the specific nature of their designation) will be significantly stretched out in time; there are many innovations connected with the increased degree of bank risk here (again, in view of their specific nature); and, finally, the country's credit and financial system still remains traditionally inflexible and unreceptive to what is new despite all the reorganizations of recent years.

Generally speaking, we are not thinking of anything new since such "ecobanks" have been established and are successfully operating in many countries, performing not only particularly financial operations but also the functions of combining and coordinating the actions of various ecological establishments and social movements that are its co-founders and collective members. These principles have already essentially been installed in the activity of the USSR Ecological Fund which unites around itself rather powerful public forces that are in favor of protecting the environment. A new step is now required—the restructuring of financial policy and the timely establishment of structures in the banking system which would be able to overcome departmentalism, the scattering of assets and their senseless and uncontrolled expenditure.

What is seen to be the area of activity of the USSR Ecological Bank? First of all, there is the concentrating of the financial resources of the country's ministries, departments and enterprises as well as those of interested foreign firms. Having such resources at its disposal, the bank could finance and provide credits for national and international ecological programs, beginning with the development stage.

The bank would also be capable of attracting enterprise and organization fund assets and the deposits of citizens on a paid basis (that is, with the payment of interest) and would have the right to distribute them within the framework of the single ecological complex of the country and international cooperation when implementing environmental protection measures.

It is evidently necessary to explain in detail here that no one, generally speaking, is encroaching upon the assets of the ministries and departments. By holding them in "ecobank" accounts, they will be fully used as they are meant to be, achieving as much as possible—in this case—not only and not so much an economic effect but especially a social one. Moreover, an opportunity will be opened up for the bank to use rather large assets for financing and providing credits to international and domestic government ecological programs. It will effectively conduct operations using the accounts of public ecological organizations, unions, funds, cooperatives.

and other movement forms to protect the environment. The bank will be able to participate using its own resources in financially supporting long-range innovative projects. Finally, its assistance can be extremely effective in the activity of local soviets.

Evidently, it is now time to understand that, if we put the financing of environmental protection measures and the new state program on the old basis, an unsatisfactory result will be programmed in advance. Therefore, it is necessary to adopt the best that exists in world experience and world practice and to adapt it to our conditions as efficiently as possible.

Belorussian Strikes Protest Ongoing Chernobyl Aftermath Exposure

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No 15, 14-20 April pp 4-5

[Article by Svetlana Savrasova: "Dosage"]

[Text] Opposition. This title of an article by journalist Svetlana Savrasova (POISK, No 17, 1989) has essentially become a rubric since we have been forced to return to it so often. The further the Chernobyl catastrophe moves away from us in time and the clearer its global scope becomes, the more clearly and acutely the requirement for a general opposition to the calamity appears. However, the calamity is not only the fact that a reactor "jerked" but that they at first tried to simply conceal it from the people, subsequently tried to "tone down" the effects, and then tried to calm those, whom the calamity affected, allegedly in the name of science....

What can true science place in opposition to these attempts? Its traditional weapon—competency and integrity. How can the public help science? With their new weapons—glasnost and citizen initiative. The opposition is not ended.

Theory....

Having accumulated one and the same radiation dose over different periods of time, why is it possible to have such different effects? This classic question of radiobiology still remains unanswered. It is very difficult to work with small doses under laboratory conditions. Mice, rabbits and dogs are a too "short-lived" experimental material.... Meanwhile, life requires scientists to speak their say immediately—hundreds of thousands of people are today living on lands that have been contaminated by the Chernobyl radiation. What awaits them in the future?

Much is known about radiation's direct effects. Its mechanism is more or less understood. The absorption of ionizing radiation by a substance occurs through the interaction of this material with energy quanta. When a quantum makes a direct hit, an electron from the DNK of the cell's nucleus is knocked off. As a result, the cell dies or begins to circulate an abnormal descendent.

However, what happens if a molecule of water, which forms 70 percent of living tissue, is encountered on the quantum's path? The molecule is destroyed. So-called free radicals—extremely eagerly reacting "fragments" of the molecules—originate. In this case, one talks about the indirect effects of radiation infections. Of course, this is only one aspect of the problem of a living organism's existence under radiation conditions; however, it is more than enough for one to regard "small dosages" with all possible caution.

Let us imagine an individual in a house that is being subjected to an artillery shelling. There is a probability, which is different from zero, of a shell directly hitting the individual (the direct effect of radiation). The probability is much higher that the individual will perish or be severely injured by debris from the building (the indirect effect of radiation). The direct and indirect dangers are reduced when the intensity of the shelling is lowered. However, when the level of radiation is reduced, only radiation's direct effect is reduced, its indirect grows!

The trouble is that the concentration of free radicals is increased when the irradiation power is raised on the cell; the more of them there are, the more frequently they will encounter and interact with each other, renewing the destroyed water molecules. When the intensity is reduced, the probability of radicals encountering each other is decreased and they "must" damage organic molecules. Damage to cell membranes involves the destruction of the immune system: The damaged wall will not protect the cell from the penetration of viruses. Today, one can say with confidence that small dosages of radiation cause many infectious diseases, which previously were never connected with radiation (influenza and pneumonia), as well as chronic illnesses of the heart and lungs. The paradox is that the more slowly the dosage is accumulated the greater can be the damage.

Statistically, this is confirmed by the recent work of scientists in the Belorussian scientific institute for experts studying work capacity and organizing the labor of disabled persons which is located in the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Social Security. They conducted a neurological, ophthalmological and otolaryngological investigation of 352 males—rural machine operators in Gomel Oblast (the test group) and 212 of their colleagues from Minskiy Rayon (the control group) who ranged from 20 to 60 years old. Substantial differences were found in the health conditions of the people in these groups. Among the Narovlya people, the initial signs of vascular pathology were diagnosed sixfold more frequently. Vascular pathology of the eye retina was encountered eightfold more frequently than in the control group! Chronic conjunctivitis, cataracts, dimness of the cornea, dystrophy of the retina.... were found almost twofold more frequently

This is why the scientific principles for regulating radiation's effect on an individual, which L. Buldakov, an academician in the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, presented in his report during the first radio-biological congress, evoke doubts. You see, the scientist proceeds from the concept of the "absorbed dose of radiation"—

the dose, and only the absorbed dose, is regarded by him as the main criteria. Unfortunately, he does not even discuss how this very dose is accumulated: over years? months? hours? Without taking this into consideration, the conclusions and forecasts of possible consequences from the Chernobyl accident and the entire "35-rem concept of a safe stay" on contaminated lands is not too reliable, to put it mildly.

Nevertheless, as Professor D. Beninson, the chairman of the international commission on radiation protection who spent last year in Belorussia as an expert on evaluating the justification of the "35 rem for life" concept, has rightfully noted, a full fledged theory on the unprecedented Chernobyl catastrophe may appear only after approximately 100 years based on an analysis of factual data. Nothing more than this is needed for this: a life-long experiment with a population participation of 50,000 - 100,000 people! Is this price not too much for a theory?

Yevgeniy Petroyayev, doctor of chemical sciences and department chief

Oleg Shadyro, doctor of chemical sciences and leading scientific associate in the radiation chemistry department of the Belorussian State University, Minsk

... And Practice

After Professor Yevgeniy Petroyayev, speaking on Belorussian television, gave his appraisal of the state of affairs in the zone of increased radiation, all the large industrial enterprises in the rayon center of Narovlya in Gomel Oblast went on strike.

After a week, approximately 200 inhabitants of the city of Narovlya—delegates of the striking collectives—went to Minsk (the gasoline for the four buses was pooled). In the capital, they were sent to the House of Political Education where a meeting was held with A. Kamay, secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee; Yu. Khusanov, first deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers; V. Goncharik, chairman of the Belorussian Trade Unions Council; A. Kichkylo, chairman of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee and Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers Commission To Eliminate the Consequences of the Accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station; and other responsible people. It was suggested to the Narovlya envoys that—"in order to avoid an uproar"—they select 12 representatives with whom a discussion of the strike committee's demands could be begun. The others waited and languished without anything to do. This permitted part-time journalists to conduct several interviews.

"What brought you to Minsk?"

Nadezhda Melnik, a dispatcher at the motor enterprise, replied to this question as follows:

"Despair. I have three children. The impression is that our government, instead of rescuing us from harm, is

doing everything possible to keep people in the danger zone. Never has so much housing been constructed in Narovlya as now. Why? Should they not evacuate us? They recommend that the children not be allowed on the street and, at the same time, splendid children's playgrounds are being built on all courtyards. It has been forbidden to grow fruits and vegetables on our land but they are putting the counters of a new market on the square.... Why?! Who must attach us to this accursed place by any means? By what right are they deceiving us all of the time? For nine years, I had not dropped in on my polyclinic; however, I recently felt very poorly and went to the doctor. Imagine, she found in my chart... the results of analyses during the last three years. Naturally, all of the statements were normal. It is impossible to endure this blatant deceit any longer!"

Valeriy Zezyutko, a driver, said: "I also have children. Nine-year-old Sveta has pathological blood changes and 10-year-old Denis' thyroid gland is enlarged....

"Once radiation monitors came to my 78-year-old mother's and took measurements in the garden: 'One can eat the fruit, little mother, but the bazaar is a no-no!' Here is another fact: They built a car wash for buses in Narovlya before the accident. They put up the walls and installed the drains and lights. This almost completed building remains idle. We, the drivers, wash the equipment manually at the motor depot using small hand-basins. For this procedure, after which our mouths burn, we receive 44 kopeks considering the highly praised 'double pay.' What is interesting is that wages have been doubled and the rates cut.... Everything—no matter what is done—goes not to the good but to the bad. For example, they evacuated the village of Karpovichi; they transported them three kilometers to Konotop. They have now taken measurements in Konotop—it is also necessary to evacuate it. For example, they sent the children to a Pioneer camp—many returned with neuroses: They had put them to bed in a separate bedroom, they fed them separately from the 'clean' children....

"During the summer of last year, we were on strike for five days. It looks very much like this measure is the only way to attract the leadership's attention to our misfortune today. At that time, they persuaded us but that was the last time that we believed them. Not one of the summer promises has yet been fulfilled. You see, we did not come to beg but to demand the guaranteeing of an individual's main right—the right to life!"

The discussion of the strikers' demands dragged on. Towards evening the Narovlya delegation demanded that their representatives return to the hall and divulge the results of the discussions. A "Protocol Between the Representatives of the Work Collectives in the City of Narovlya and the Belorussian Communist Party Buro and Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers Commission to Eliminate the Consequences of the Accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station" was taken under consideration and discussed point by point. It proposed, for example, the immediate evacuation of families "that

had children under 14 years old (as of 26 April 1986), pregnant women and persons whom it was recommended not live in the city of Narovlya because of medical reasons; the granting to the evacuated inhabitants of the right to special entrance into a housing construction cooperative; the halting of construction in the city of Narovlya and the rayon from 1 February 1990; and the directing of all investments toward the construction of housing for the immigrants; the determination of the required amount of international help in medical equipment and medicines and the determination of the procedure for importing them into the republic...."

The protocol was accepted point by point and undoubtedly would have been adopted as a whole if it were not for the last demand of the strikers—at first glance, the most inoffensive one—the demand for glasnost in adopting and implementing the protocol: to be given an opportunity to make this document public on television, publish it and speak on the "Narovlya Question" at a session of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet which was to open the next day. Here, a new opposition began! What it was and what the reasons for it were can be judged from the remarks that are on my dictaphone:

"What do we need television for? It is not necessary to withdraw to the side!"

"Publication is not to your benefit! Others will want the same thing."

To the credit of the Narovlya people, they correctly evaluated everything. One of the delegates, V. Sivak, hit the nail on the head:

"You want to buy us with this protocol but we want the same thing done for Khoyniki and Bragin that was done for us."

The protocol was not adopted.

The Narovlya people picketed Government House the next morning.

They were not permitted inside. They carried the protocol out to them (without the "television and newspaper" point) which had been signed by the chairman of the Council of Ministers himself.

With this, they left.... Do not be afraid, Muskovites, they did not go to the capital. They went to Narovlya, home, "to accumulate additional rems," as one of the picketers said in farewell.

Svetlana Savrasova, Minsk

P.S. Recently, having read in ARGUMENTY I FAKTY a letter from Narovlya that construction is continuing there, I called the rayon. I learned that the letter was somewhat belated—all capital construction in Narovlyanskiy Rayon has been halted. As the local radio reported on 12 April, the assets which had been destined for this purpose have been transferred to a fund to help

the Chernobyl people. Construction, however, continues in the neighboring rayons which "were not part of the protocol."

Chernobyl-Related Secrecy Injurious to Population

90UN16394 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA
in Ukrainian 30 Mar 90 p 1

[Article by Leonid Fedorovich Brovchenko: "Without Placenta Life Comes to Standstill"; first paragraph is RADYANSKA UKRAYINA introduction]

[Text] Leonid Fedorovich Brovchenko graduated in 1976 from the Kiev University imeni T.G. Shevchenko, Radiophysics Department. He worked as a Manufacturing Engineer at the "Arsenal" plant, served in the military, and then began working as a reporter at the KYIVSKA PRAVDA newspaper. Since 1986 he has been working at RADYANSKA UKRAYINA. He is now a Senior Reporter at the Economic Reform Department and a Deputy of the Radyanskyy rayon Council of People's Deputies in Kiev.

Ours is not a sweet life nowadays. Our society is in trouble - economic, ecological, spiritual and political trouble. Of course one cannot solve all problems in a short time. But let us remember the unbreakable rule of civilized people: when a trouble comes, one first of all rescues the defenseless and the helpless, the children. Who are we, what kind of moral are we professing by dooming them to severe suffering and slow death?

Today, in the northern Kiev and Zhitomir oblasts there is a clear boundary between humanism on paper and real-life humanism. In Polesye Secondary School No 1 one can see blood stains next to ink blots in students' notebooks - children often have nasal bleeding. Sometimes school students turn pale and faint. It is normal in kindergartens there to launder children's shirts after nasal bleeding. Almost seventy percent of kids have enlarged thyroids. A lot of them are sick with vegetatively-vascular dystrophy. Lead Radiology Engineer of the Lugin Sovkhoz Association S. Vasilyuk shared his pain with me: physicians at southern resorts where children of Lugin sovkhozs' workers rested in the summer noted unanimously that there were almost no practically healthy kids.

At a meeting of managers and professionals of Republic's agencies and organizations with workers of the Lugin rayon, one of rayons in the "strict" radiation control zone, I listened with pain to the physicians' explanations of the children's condition - forced staying inside premises, hypodynamia, hypoxia, effects of overeating (it is scary to think of it: bleeding and fainting caused by overeating!), and radiophobia.

Did anybody in the audience believe them? I am sure nobody did. Moreover, I myself am sure that radiophobia is an allusion to simulation, which means it is an

immoral and shameless challenge to millions of people, including 250,000 children who live in high radiation zones.

Why have the physicians been conducting such quieting policy? Why did they not perform their direct duties - correct diagnostics for "Chernobylites"? Are they ignoramuses in their profession?

It has only now become clear that this was caused by the ill will and instructions of "competent" time-servers in science and politics. I for one understand that due to defense considerations the State must classify certain information. But I cannot comprehend for the life of me why there are such secrets in public health service. Who is the truth concealed from? From which enemy? From your own people? Nowadays even the Republic's Minister of Health does not have information on the radiation situation at the sites of nuclear power plants managed by the Third Main Administration of the USSR Ministry of Health.

Only one thing shows through this curtain of mystery and secrecy - the administrative-bureaucratic system's indifference to people. This already happened in our history, when people were considered small screws that had no value. This is why Chernobyl stressed with special acuteness the need to dismantle the system as soon as possible.

The criminal classifying has inflicted immeasurably heavy damage on the population of 32 rayons in six oblasts of the Ukraine. So many of them have already paid and so many more will still pay with their health! But the country still does not know her "heroes", who understated by a factor of 20 the amount of radionuclides released into the atmosphere in that horrible spring of 1986. Everybody got away with impunity. The crimes against the people have been gotten away with... What kind of people are we anyway?

It is now very difficult to decontaminate radiation-contaminated areas. Had one immediately, hot on the scent of radionuclides fallout, taken off a layer of soil from contaminated spots, the problems would not have been that acute today. Medical scientists are recommending that inhabitants of the "strict" control zone do not go into fields, do not walk on meadows, do not drop in to forests, do not swim in rivers, do not pick berries or mushrooms, do not fish, do not use wood for heating, do not eat vegetables from their gardens and do not keep domestic cattle. Forget all of it. But how is one to live?!

But even if children observe this, will they grow up as full-fledged people? The thing is that under this scenario a child falls out of the natural habitation environment. The forest, the field, the meadow, the mushrooms, the berries, the river, the domestic cattle - all this is the mother's placenta that supports a normal life of the person. If a pregnant woman loses the placenta while the child for some reason stays in the mother's womb, the child's life amounts to minutes.

I do not want to be misunderstood by those who "programmed" relocation of children from the contaminated zone to take three years and longer. I know that this costs money, a lot of it. But one must not drag out children's relocation for three years. Future generations will not forgive us!

In relocation I simply appeal to look before one leaps. Have we not had enough hasty relocations from one contaminated place to another, from a cesium to a strontium spot? New roads, buildings, newly built villages that one has to abandon now stand as a silent reproach to our callousness, mismanagement and dumbness.

What part of their bodies were the magnates thinking with when making the decision to build Slavutich, a new town for the Chernobyl power plant personnel, in the very center of the most intensive radioactive spot in the Chernigov oblast? True, now, according to Ukrhidromet's [Ukrainian SSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control] official M. Duritskiy, with whom I had an occasion to fly in a helicopter over the 30-km zone and Slavutich (God, what a beautiful town!), the town itself is clean, more or less - during the construction the soil had been dug over again and again. But what about the surrounding forests?..

And again, the thought suggests itself: those who were making the decision to build Slavutich right in the vicinity of the Nedanchichi railroad station, did not care about people. The main thing was to report - and after that they did not care "whether or not the grass grows."

But grass does grow well in the radioactive contamination zone. Alas, it grows abnormally.

Measures to Counteract Radioactive Contamination Ignored

90UN1940A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
12 May 90 p 1

[Article by S. Nedourov, Lybid NPO [Scientific Production Organization] leading scientific associate and assistant professor: "And Here We Find Negligence"]

[Text] I recently visited the now well-known villages of Polesskoye and Narodichi. I traveled there on temporary assignment from Ukrainian SSR Minlegprom [Ministry of Light Industry] in order to see for myself that required anti-radiation measures had been accomplished at two local sector enterprises—Polesskoye Garment and Narodichi Ribbon Factories. I think I need to describe what I saw there—it is instructive.

The Rayon GO [Geographic Society] chief of staff showed me a map with data on contaminated soil in the Polesskoye area. It is alarming. In many sectors, radioactive cesium contamination exceeds the maximum allowable levels by a factor of four or greater. And I did not find sufficiently detailed information about the

radiation situation directly at the garment factory. I had to use the dosimeter that I had brought with me. Measurements showed that the radiation situation at the enterprise—it is located in the area of the village that is on the other side of the river—is much more favorable than, say, in the central portion of the village. Thus, the gamma radiation exposure dose rate on the grounds adjacent to the factory totals an average of 0.03-0.04 millireontgens per hour. Average radiation levels in the production shops and other work areas did not exceed 0.02 millireontgens per hour.

It is possible that precisely these low contamination readings have also given rise to a feeling of complacency among the factory's leadership. What else can explain its total disregard for radiation safety measures? Thus, they have not organized constant dosimetric monitoring of worker and employee exposure or contamination of work areas, raw materials, and other materials. They are ignoring public health regulations recommended by the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Public Health. Workers are not completely provided with overalls and they do not even have gauze bandages. They do not conduct regular wet mopping of work areas. A thick layer of dust lies on window sills and I saw products without packaging leaning up against the windows "out in the open" in a number of places. During the inspection, it turned out that radioactive contamination was two times higher on these window sills than in the remaining areas of the room. The glass was broken in many windows and there were large cracks in the window frames. There is still one more detail. The rayon hospital can monitor internal exposure of people using a special imported instrument. However, the factory is not keeping track of individuals who have completed this examination.

The Narodichi Ribbon Factory visit did not make a better impression. There were also quite a few violations of safety regulations and radiation protection requirements: A worthless ventilation system, malfunctioning entry doors, excessive dust in the ribbon shop area, and failure to provide workers with overalls, soap, and first aid kits....

It is possible that in Narodichi the factory leadership is pinning all of its hopes on the impending resettlement of workers and employees to other populated areas and therefore is not burdening itself with "unnecessary" difficulties. Of course, the Republic Government has decided to resettle the population. Moreover, nearly 700 apartments have been allocated in various cities of the Ukrainian SSR to relocate families with children up to 14 years old and families with pregnant women. A social commission has been established under the rayispolkom that is carrying out personal selection of individuals subject to relocation. However, no more than 15 people of 200 ribbon factory workers and employees meet the requirement for the next resettlement. The fact is that the majority of the enterprise's female workers live in the nearby village of Silets that is considered satisfactory from the standpoint of radiation and is not subject to evacuation. This means that if you want to preserve your

health, master the required antiradiation measures. Alas, they are dismissing them. And, as it became clear, much of the population simply does not know.

While spending the evening on the streets of the village, I paid attention to the fact that the majority of private plots had been cultivated. Near the small bridge across the stream, I admired the work of an old woman who was diligently digging vegetable patches. I approached her. We talked. "Are you not afraid of the radiation?" I asked. "And why should I be afraid of it?" the woman responded, "They have been frightening us for four years and we have been cultivating our gardens and gathering our harvests. Potatoes grow well here and last year we dug up many of them: I laid in a stock for myself and still sold 600 rubles worth to the consumer cooperative." "And how did the consumer cooperative use the potatoes they bought from you?" "The potatoes are being sold in all other oblasts—in the North, in Kareliya." But this did not surprise me. The woman complained that neither she nor her neighbors had yet acquired the knowledge required to decide what they could plant and what they could not or how to deal with the harvest.

On another plot, I became acquainted with Arkadiy Vasilyevich Svishchuk. He was working with his wife. To begin with, I requested his permission to make several readings. The dosimeter readings turned out to be comparatively low—0.03 millireontgens per hour. The conversation suddenly became lively. Arkadiy Vasilyevich and his neighbors stated that no one had checked their plots for radioactive contamination and, in any case, no information cards about this had been distributed to them as it should have been done. I walked over to one more plot—the radiation level turned out to be higher here during the measurement. The manure that they had used to richly fertilize the earth has not been eliminated as the cause of this.

This question involuntarily arises: Who and how must they determine the population's agricultural activity for cultivating the earth and utilizing agricultural products grown on personal plots under conditions of "strict radiation monitoring"? I also did not find an answer to this question. Obviously, local Soviets nevertheless need to seriously engage in this. Precisely they must organize comprehensive population information program that tells them about the specific traits of radioactive contamination, its nature, the nature of the impact on man, and also about people's rules of behavior in contaminated zones. This work also has not been organized in Poleskoye and Narodichi to this day.

And as for the leaders of enterprises and organizations, it seems like they are waiting until specialized civil defense formations or military units arrive and do everything for them instead of organizing and insuring the conduct of anti-radiation measures at their subdepartmental facilities and grounds which is their direct job responsibility.

Belorussian Ukase On Chernobyl Memorial Day

90UN1655A Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA
in Russian 5 Apr 90 p 3

[Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Ukase:
"On Chernobyl Tragedy Day"]

[Text] Concerned with speeding up efforts to eliminate the consequences of the Chernobyl AES accident, create safe conditions for human habitation, prevent large and small accidents, and improve the environment, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Belorussian SSR decrees:

1. To declare April 26 Chernobyl Tragedy Day. It must become a day that reminds people of the need to constantly care for and support those who have suffered as a result of the accident give due attention to the environment, of their responsibility for the intelligent and professional use of the achievements of science and technology and for ensuring ecological safety.

2. The Council of Ministers of the Belorussian SSR shall draw up measures in connection with the observance of Chernobyl Tragedy Day aimed at unswervingly carrying out the State Program for Eliminating the Consequences of the Chernobyl AES Accident in the Belorussian SSR.

N. Dementey, chairman, Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

L. Syrovegina, secretary, Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Minsk, 5 April 1990

Belorussian SSR Financial Official On Allocation of Chernobyl Funds

90UN1655B Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA
in Russian 5 Apr 90 p 3

[Article by S. Yanchuk, first deputy minister of finance of the Belorussian SSR, under rubric "Zone of Special Concern": "Money From the Chernobyl Account"]

[Text] Who finances the program for eliminating the consequences of the Chernobyl AES accident? What are the funds spent on? Who monitors their use? Such questions can be heard today at election meetings, they are raised by the participants of rallies and business conferences. There are also quite a few requests to tell about the fate of the special account funds in letters received by the editors.

You can find answers to these questions in this material, which was prepared at the request of BELTA by the Republican Council of Minister's Information Department.

A report by S. Yanchuk, first deputy minister of finance of the Belorussian SSR.

After the Chernobyl AES accident, the Central Committee of the CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers, as

well as the Belorussian CP Central Committee and the Republic Council of Ministers, passed decisions providing for the implementation of a range of scientific, technical, medical and other protective measures aimed at reducing the levels of radioactive irradiation of the population.

Centralized state capital investments reached 1.1 billion rubles. These funds were used to build new communities for resettled people. A total of 736,600,000 rubles have already been paid in the form of wage bonuses, grants and compensations, including 207 million last year.

The republic budget has assigned 182 million rubles for eliminating the consequences of the accident. These funds were used to finance the construction and repair of local roads, replace contaminated livestock, and purchase radiation counting equipment.

Thus the total budget appropriations over four years have exceeded two billion rubles. Furthermore, state insurance paid out 116,700,000 rubles to farms and individuals.

Great help to the victims of the Chernobyl tragedy has been given by work collectives, public organizations and individual citizens. Last July a donations account number 700073 was opened for the "Fund of Help to Eliminate the Consequences of the Chernobyl AES Accident on Belorussian SSR Territory." The balance in that account at this time is 8,300,000 rubles. The account is supervised by the Commission of the Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro and Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers For Eliminating the Consequences of the Accident.

The "Centralized 5-Year-Plan Fund" account No 709 is used to deposit *subbotnik* [voluntary Saturday work] proceeds. Of monies earned in the republic in last year's Lenin Subbotnik, 10,000,000 rubles were remitted to the Gomel Oblast ispolkom and 4,300,000 to the Mogilev Oblast ispolkom. The balance is 2,700,000 rubles.

Since October 1989, a total of 700,000 rubles has been deposited in the republican section of "Soviet Peace Fund" account No 705803 with payment specified for "Children of Chernobyl." The entire sum has been remitted for supplemental nutrition for children in 148 preschool establishments in Gomel Oblast. In September 1989, the republican section of the "Soviet Children's Fund imeni V. I. Lenin" opened account No 707801, contributions to which have totalled 200,000 rubles.

The executive committee of the Union of USSR Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies has remitted 6,550,000 rubles to the Belorussian central committee of the Red Cross Society.

Account No 000700801 at the Belorussian Republican Bank of USSR Vneshekonombank has received 287 foreign currency rubles. In addition, 750 foreign currency rubles have been remitted to the Belorussian section of the Peace Fund.

Editors' note: The authors donate the fee for this material to the Children of Chernobyl Fund.

Coverup Alleged in Shipment of Radioactive Slag From Podolsk Plant

90WN0054A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 4 May 90 Second Edition p 2

[Article by N. Bulavintsev and A. Melnikova: "Urgent Report From Our Correspondents: Hostages of Radiation"]

[Text] The brief report in one of the central newspapers to the effect that radioactive raw materials had been discovered at the Podolsk Nonferrous Metals Plant stunned the people of Cherepovets. Because, for almost a year, the plant had used in steel smelting aluminum slag that had been delivered from Podolsk.

However paradoxical this sounds, the famous metallurgical giant still does not have any incoming dosimetric monitoring, although it is absolutely clear that, maybe not everywhere, but certainly in production where thousands of people are employed it is simply necessary. The first person to sound the alarm was A. Myasnikov, engineer in the steel-smelting laboratory. He measured the radiation level of the slag itself that was located at the bulk-materials sector of the open-hearth shop. The level proved to be elevated. That was also confirmed by the results of expert tests that were urgently carried out by the services that were supposed to carry out the analysis considerably earlier, when 600 tons of those raw materials had been received. Incidentally, there already exists a special order pertaining to this—Ministry of Metallurgy Order No. 739, "The Branch Radiation Safety Service." And, indeed, there is such a service at the combine, and it is headed by N. Rynnov.

It became obvious that a serious blunder had been committed, and it was costing people their health. Obviously, people should have rushed to correct it. However, the expert testimony proved to be not enough for this purpose.

The shop and plant administrators were faced by the task: where and how to ship the dangerous materials that had already spread contamination around themselves for almost a year. With the help of the CPSU obkom and the oblast ispolkom, they succeeded in shipping the slag back to Podolsk. However, the enterprise leadership decided not to inform the workers about the reasons for the urgent "evacuation" of several hundred tons of slag. The managers of the open-hearth shop practically used force to begin getting them to load up the railroad cars. Deputy shop chiefs V. Proshin and N. Solodovnikov undertook the job of trying persistently to convince the machine operators that they should load the slag. The machine operators, remembering the sharp smell of ammonia when the slag was being unloaded, and by now suspecting that something was amiss, flatly refused to load it. But the pressure proved to be stronger than common sense.

For seven days, people loaded the radioactive raw materials. The grader buckets did not always deliver the slag to the railroad car without some losses on the way. The slag sifted through the openings, and the dust literally built up like a column. The radiation overtook newer and newer zones. And that is how it continued for several days. The slag gradually left the plant. Rumors about its increased radioactivity nevertheless percolated out of the confines of the managers' offices. The workers, realizing that they had been made the hostages of radiation and officials' vanity, formed a delegation and rushed to see the director of the Cherepovets Metallurgical Combine, Yu. Lipukhin. Yuriy Viktorovich promised the workers that he would look into the situation and severely punish the guilty individuals, but he did not succeed in restraining their justifiable anger.

The people who had worked with the radioactive slag needed immediate medical examination. And not in the local departmental clinics, which, according to them, serve only the interests of the management. Instead, they needed examination in Moscow. This is how that visit is recalled by N. Yemelyanova, who is one of the people who had been forced to load the slag into the gondola cars: "We were analyzed numerous times and we were carefully examined. Institute physician S. Gagarin told us that the effect of even small dosages of radiation over a prolonged period of time is dangerous to the human organism. So it is not precluded that some of us are sick."

The specialists' doubts were soon confirmed. After the first examination, six women were suddenly called back to Moscow for a second examination. They were found to have enlarged thyroids. In the shop, many people sympathize with those women, saying, "We pray to God that everything will turn out all right." Actually, it really will be up to God. In this situation there is no one else upon whom to put one's hopes, because the managers of the enterprise and of their very own shop had deceived them.

When we asked N. Solodovnikov, deputy chief of the open-hearth shop, whether the managers had known that the slag was radioactive when they had forced the machine operators, including women, to work with it, he answered without any embarrassment, "Yes, they knew it..."

To this day no one is hurrying to tell the people at the combine the whole truth. Apparently reticence has already become a tradition at the famous giant. When, late last year, the latest in a series of discharges of poisonous substances occurred here, it took S. Beglyak, a journalist at the Vologda KRASNYY SEVER, a long time to find the answers to his direct questions. Many of the enterprise administrators gave obviously evasive answers in the attempt to conceal the truth. That occurrence also is by no means the only one. In April an explosion occurred at the combine. One of the authors of this article had to resort to asking assistance from T. Kurnyak, secretary of the party's Cherepovets Gorkom, in order to confirm the accuracy of the information. That is the attitude that people here have to glasnost.

We would like to believe that the leadership of the famous giant that has become accustomed to having pride in its achievements will have enough bravery this time to tell the workers that not all the radioactive slag has been shipped back to Podolsk, and that approximately 60 tons of it continue to be stored at the combine. And enough bravery to finally take the appropriate steps to bring to accountability those persons who are guilty of perpetrating this emergency situation with the radioactive raw materials, who juggled the figures concerning the radioactive background, and who deceived the workers, pushing them to the brink of tragedy.

Kaliningrad Fields Unwittingly Contaminated With Radioactive Elements

90WN0054B Moscow *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA*
in Russian 4 May 90 p 1

[Article by R. Minakova, Kaliningrad Oblast, under rubric "Emergency Situation": "Well, We've Fertilized It... An Ostrich Sticks Its Head in the Sand, But Officials Stick Theirs in Departmental Papers"]

[Text] **Mechanizers in Namanskiy, Ozerskiy, Pravdinskiy, and Chernyakhovskiy rayons, Kaliningrad Oblast, fertilized the fields on their farms with radium-226, thorium-232, and uranium-238.**

To tell the truth, these people are completely not to blame because the land on several kolkhozes and sovkhozes has proven to be contaminated by radio nuclides. If they had known that the phosphate fertilizer that they had obtained at the rayon agrochemical associations would "light up" in excess of the norm, they would have turned off their motor. But, unfortunately, they learned too late that, together with the fertilizer, they had been applying radium, thorium, and uranium to the soil. It was not until 1310 tons of phosphate fertilizer (out of the 1820 tons that had been shipped into the oblast) had been applied.

It was only pure chance that made it possible to learn of the dangerous properties of the fertilizer itself that had been lying around unused for a year at warehouses of the oblast-level Agropromk...iya. In Gvardeyskiy Rayon the local "Greens" undertook the job of checking the state of the territory around the industrial sites. At the fertilizer warehouse of the rayon Agropromkhiya Association, the instrument used for measuring the radioactivity level indicated that the natural background was exceeded by a factor of 10. There was no doubt about it: the radiation was coming from the sacks filled with the phosphate fertilizer. When the instrument was placed between sacks—these are in polyethylene packing and weigh a ton each—the dial indicated 250 microrentgens an hour...

The next day the oblast sanitation and epidemiology station and the oblast environmental protection committee sounded the alarm. They reported to the oblast administrators about what had happened. A team flew out to the rayons, to tell people not to use the phosphate

fertilizer. But the mechanizers had worked diligently: by that time almost all the fertilizer was already on the fields.

How did all this happen? Because the fertilizers had proven to be "dirty"? Why were they sent to the fields without being checked? Well, the fact of the matter is that the phosphate fertilizer had been monitored at the oblast chemicalization station of Agropromkhiya Association. But the radiology specialists had not detected anything suspicious. It's an absolute outrage. But the people at the station do not think so. Head radiologist Ye. Ryzhova explained to me that, with the aid of the methodologies that they use, it is impossible to detect what the "Greens" detected. But the most important thing is that the instruction guides do not require them to carry out a thorough analysis of mineral fertilizers for radioactivity. And since the instruction guides do not require it, it was simply that no one carry out gamma-spectrum analysis of the fertilizers. Although it was only that kind of analysis that could have shown the true situation.

Well, whoever should have done it, in this instance the agrochemists should have been triply vigilant. After all, the fertilizers had come from Syria. And it is well known about Syrian phosphorites that they are among the "dirtiest" in the world: they contain a large quantity of heavy metals, including carcinogenic cadmium and radiation-hazardous uranium.

The Odessans, who had fought against having a chemical combine situated in their oblast for the purpose of producing phosphate fertilizers from this raw material, got hold of information that compromises the abolished USSR Minudobreniy [Ministry of Fertilizers; that ministry at first deliberately misled the public about the chemical makeup of the Syrian phosphorites, by not pointing out the presence of radioactive substances in them. A total of 335 tons of uranium and thorium annually was supposed to come to our country with the chemicals being delivered by Syria in accordance with a contract.

Why, for the sake of what profit, did Soyuzagrokhimeksport import from abroad the "dirty" phosphate fertilizer, when the country already had more than enough of its own phosphorus fertilizers? How did this freight shipment get across the state border unhindered? These and similar questions require separate study. But we would like to direct our attention at this time to one thing.

Despite the fact that the sanitation physicians banned the application of the Syrian phosphate fertilizer to the soil (and it is continuing to arrive in the oblast), Agropromkhiya specialists sent a certain amount of fertilizers for detailed analysis to Moscow, to the Central Institute of Agrochemical Services for Agriculture, and, having received a reassuring response from the departmental laboratory, recently sent its instructions to the

rayons. In their opinion, these fertilizers do not represent any danger, and, consequently, they can be used to apply as a dressing for plants.

I read a document signed by V. Panasin, director of the very same chemicalization station that "overlooked" the dangerous radio nuclides in the fertilizers. It's an interesting piece of paper! "Evaluating the data that was received, one can conclude that the content of radium-226, thorium-232, and uranium-238 is within the range of the indicators that are typical of domestically produced and foreign phosphorus fertilizers, and the specific activity is one-half the level established by the specifications for fertilizers." Thus, the hypotheses concerning the high content of natural radio nuclides in the Syrian phosphate fertilizers did not find confirmation. It can be used in the same way as domestically produced phosphate fertilizer, but it is necessary at such time to observe the safety procedures, just as one does when working with pulverized fertilizers...

That's how simple everything is. It turns out that there was no need for worry on the part of the male and female workers who were engaged in unpacking the fertilizer and who swallowed radioactive dust for hours, much less any need for them to strike, as they did in Slavsk. And it is incomprehensible why N. Zagorskiy, chief doctor at the oblast sanitation and epidemiology station, became indignant at the agrochemists' arbitrariness, stating, "Our position remains unchanged! The fertilizer from Syria cannot be applied to the soil, anymore than any other substance that adds pollutants!"

However, let us leave irony to one side. As the expression goes, it would be ridiculous if it weren't so sad. You can beseech yet again: the country needs a single radiation-protection service that is not subordinate to any departments. All right, then: the former Gosagroprom can check itself! According to the instructions that it issued jointly with Minzdrav [Ministry of Health], the "spheres of influence" in the area of radiation monitoring of foodstuffs have been divided as follows: the state sanitation service monitors the sale of food products through the trade network, the public-nutrition system, and cooperative trade; the veterinary service takes care of animal husbandry; and the agroservice monitors the soil and products of vegetable husbandry.

At the oblast Agropromkhiymiya Association they pretend today that no emergency had ever occurred. The specialists at the chemicalization station mollify themselves and others by stating that in dispersed form the fertilizers do not represent any danger to man. "Not only that, but the radio nuclides did not get onto every hectare of soil," head radiologist Ye. Ryzhova assured me. "And wherever it does exist, the radiation constitutes only small dosages." Is that dangerous delusion or craftiness? Throughout the entire civilized world today, people adhere to a completely different point of view: small dosages of radioactive emission are capable of threatening the organism much more strongly.

A year or a year and a half ago, Gosagroprom fed infants in the oblast baby food—pureed carrots and apples—in which the amount of nitrates was above every standard. Once again the monitoring had been departmental and carried out by Gosagroprom! Now it has "fertilized" our fields with radium, thorium, and uranium. Aren't they satisfied?

Import, Use of Radioactive Syrian Mineral Fertilizers Investigated

90WN0087A Moscow TRUD in Russian 17 May 90 p 2

[Article by V. Volovich, Oblast Nature Conservation Committee expert, Kalinin: "Radiation and Imports: How Mineral Fertilizers 'Contaminated' with Toxic Substances Ended Up in Our Country"]

[Text] One of the ancient regions of Kalinin, whose narrow side streets are built up with wooden houses, is covered with vegetation. Dandelions are scattered like thousands of small suns on the lawns in front of the homes. Blossoming apple trees have created rose-white tents.

Sweet idyll. And suddenly at the end of the most remote street—a picket line: Old women in kerchiefs and women with young children in their arms. One end of the street's crosswalk was barricaded with a linen rope with colored rags tied onto it and the other end was piled high with rocks and roots among which was the white frame of an old stove or an old refrigerator. "We want to live" was written on it in red paint.

We managed to reach V. Grolovskiy, Oblast Nature Conservation Committee state inspector, by telephone: "Come here, we do not have any more strength. There is a fertilizer facility nearby. They have been showering us [with chemicals] for a long time, there is no justice."

The militia that had moved ahead of us attempted to reason with the enraged old women:

"Why was the road being dug across?"

"Well, you live here when we are eating, drinking, and breathing this chemical," said the picketers. "It is bad enough that we are being showered with chemicals and then yesterday they told us that they have some sort of radiation over there...."

The facility was about a stone's throw away. A totally rutted road covered with potholes led toward it and powerful dump trucks, loaded with something that looked like damp sand, were detouring around it.

They drove us around the territory for a long time and Chief Engineer V. Litvak explained that the Volga Facility is one of the largest in the Agropromkhim [Agricultural Chemical Production] Association. Approximately 4,500 rail car loads of fertilizer are obtained from it each year. It serves four rayons

He spoke calmly and his imperturbability was disarming: "There is some sort of radiation there.... Probably rumors that have arisen, as they now say, due to radiophobia. All the more so since Kalinin residents have their own nuclear power plant nearby."

They even treated us to tea during the peaceful conversation. And everything would have concluded quietly and peacefully if Party Organization Secretary A. Yermashov had not suddenly asked:

"Anyway, just what will we do about the radiation? Yesterday, they called us from the chemical plant and said: Uranium, radium, and something else has been detected in the Syrian fertilizer...."

We were stunned.

As we found out, Oblast Agropromkimiya leaders learned that radioactive substances—Uranium-238, Radium-226, and Thorium-232—had been detected in the phosphorous fertilizer that arrived from Syria and that has already been applied in the fields in Kaliningrad Oblast. Right then we also suddenly remembered: Really, Kalinin has been receiving this fertilizer for several years.

Messengers with packets of the mineral fertilizers were immediately sent to Moscow to the Central Agriculture Agrochemical Service Institute. But Association Chairman V. Strazhevskiy refused to show us the results of the analyses and he also did not want to tell us the quantity of imported "vitamins" trucked to and spread on the fields. Although the agrochemists sent the analyses themselves to the Oblast Sanitary and Epidemiological Station the day before, the following orders were issued to both Deputy Chief Doctor Ye. Yashin and also later to Oblast Nature Conservation Committee Chairman V. Fomin: Ban the use of fertilizers until the degree of danger has been ascertained.

The content of the radioactive substances in the Kalinin shipment turned out to be the same as in the Kaliningrad shipment. But the situation, according to SES's [Sanitary and Epidemiological Station] conclusion, is worsened by the fact that there are special soils in the Upper Volga. First of all, fertilizer will remain in the surface layer of loam that does not let in humidity. And, secondly, this soil is poor in calcium and, in its absence, plants actively consume radioactive substances and accumulate them especially in root crops.

Moreover, an idea came to one of the Agrokimiya workers: Could we not fulfill a portion of the consumer goods plan by packaging phosphorite and selling it to the population and maybe they can use it as a cleaning agent? As a test, they themselves distributed packets to homes and tested it—it was no good. And they discarded it.

But we will ask them a question: How could phosphorous fertilizer with a heightened content of radioactive nuclei end up in Kalinin, Ivanov, Kostroma, Leningrad,

and other Oblasts and in the country in general? Really we already knew beforehand that Syrian fertilizers are one of the "dirtiest" in the world. Several years ago, Odessa residents literally rose up against the intention of the now defunct USSR Ministry of Fertilizers to locate a chemical works there to produce these fertilizers from Syrian raw materials.

Thus, what dictated the activities of Soyuzagrokhimexport [Union Agrochemical Export] leaders? Did the Ministry "die" and the contracts remained [in force]? Or were new contracts concluded? And who thought it was advantageous to import from abroad what we have in this country and furthermore without harmful admixtures?

Another question also arises? How is radiological monitoring and the radiological service set up in this country if scandalous cases of this nature time and again come to light in various regions?

Many people probably remember the monstrous story that occurred in Kramatorsk in Donetsk Oblast when an entire family died because radioactive wastes were walled up in one of the wall panels? From which quarry did they get the construction materials? What about these wastes and how did they end up there? And where will we find more—in which house?

"Contaminated" raw tea was discovered at the tea weighing factory in Irkutsk and closed dangerous wastes were found near the polytechnical institute. Or one more thing: Mining of uranium was conducted for a long period of time in the resort area near Pyatigorsk and Minsredmash [Ministry of Medium Machine Building] kept this a secret.

The situation in the Upper Volga Region is already tense: The latest irregular situation occurred at the local AES in January [1990]. Thank God, it occurred without consequences. But where is the guarantee for tomorrow? At the same time they are continuing to erect the plant's third and fourth power units despite residents' protests. Although, as the public committee of experts asserts, the first two should not have been located in the watershed of the Black and Baltic Sea basins, on karsts, or with a shortage of water that is required to cool the reactors.

Furthermore, events occurred with lightning speed in Kalinin as a result of the Syrian fertilizers. The first rumor was circulated at the end of last week and an emergency meeting took place at the Oblispolkom on Monday to which experts in the area of radiation and scientists from Moscow and Leningrad were summoned. The task: Determine how dangerous both the foreign "vitamins" in the fields and those that still remain at the facilities are and also inspect the soil where they have been applied in previous years and this year.

How dangerous? Just posing the question causes a civic protest: Why must we ask it, become fidgety, and fearfully wait for the answer? Why are we generally not relieved of the need to pose this frequent and not nearly

rhetorical question? And finally, who will completely and definitely answer it? And who will answer for it?

Potential for Catastrophe Seen at Yuzhny Port Chemical Works

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[Article by VODNYI TRANSPORT Correspondents G. Grudev and D. Rakhmanin, Odessa: "Secrets of the 'Secret Facility': A Chemical Giant Capable of Killing All Living Things Around It Appeared near the Black Sea"]

[Text] This article has its prehistory. Last year, while gathering facts for an article about Volga ecological problems, specifically about the danger that hundreds of pipelines running along the bottom of the river pose for people and the environment (See VODNYI TRANSPORT, No 119), we became interested in the most secret and potentially the most dangerous of them, the Tolyatti-Odessa Ammonia Pipeline. The Ammonia "river" flows through densely populated areas of the Volga and Ukraine, crossing the Don and Dnepr Rivers, and a number of other rivers and canals. So, while mentally following the over 2,000 kilometer long path, we also reached the "end point" that a major transport highway does not have anything similar to—the Odessa Priortovyy Works and Yuzhny Maritime Port through which shipment of chemical cargo for export occurs....

"Illegitimate" Child of the Agrochemical [Industry]

Yuzhny Port's specialized docks stretch like a narrow strip along the Grigoryev Estuary—carbamide, ammonia, and methanol.... And the Priortovyy Production Facilities hang directly over them on the steep bank. These two not quite related enterprises are tightly linked as if by steel thread by the pipelines that crawl along the shore.

Odessa Port is far from last among structures of the not so remote past that are impressive in scale. But if we trumpeted about BAM [Baykal-Amur Trunk Line] or KamAZ [Kama Vehicle Plant] throughout the entire country and even the world, this works was born quietly and rapidly thanks not nearly to the selfless assistance of American Businessman Armand Hammer. It was essentially born through deception under the guise of a small enterprise whose activities would allegedly be linked with Yuzhny Maritime Port's needs and functions.

"Departmental morality" was based on the fact that any means were fine to achieve the goal and in this case the cart was placed before the horse: The works generally gave precisely life and a future to port development. This trick would hardly get by in our day. But during those times when decisions affecting millions of people were made in a narrow circle in large Moscow offices and no one among the local population with access to construction [plans] asked nor did they themselves particularly take the trouble with explanations.

So then a gigantic chemical industry appeared right alongside Odessa with millions of inhabitants, in a resort zone, and on the shore of a scenic Black Sea estuary in a strikingly short period of time according to our understanding. Its owner is Agrokhim [Agrochemical] State Association under whose trademark we are currently happily welcoming the "curtailed" Ministry for Production of Mineral Fertilizers. Residents of the entire southwestern region near Priortovyy have turned out to be hostages and the dockers are becoming the first victims.

We have repeatedly reported on the pages of this newspaper about serious accidents in Yuzhny that have occurred while loading ammonia on gas carrying ships. But unfortunately there was no way this could go beyond conversation and the works administration and higher-ranking leaders did everything possible to prevent widespread publicity and to prevent an alarmed public or journalists from gaining access to their secrets.

So, what is being hidden beyond the innocuous mask? Until a year ago, we could only speculate about this. Today, we have specific facts, scientifically based assessments, and expert testimony at our disposal and we want to acquaint our readers with some of this material.

According to the Odessa Civil Defense classification, the Priortovyy Works is a class one chemically dangerous facility. The primary threat for all living things surrounding it are four enormous liquid ammonia storage facilities with a total capacity of 120,000 tons. The ammonia pipeline "freight turnover" is 2.5 million tons per year. Add to this the fact that the works also operates its own ammonia production.

Ammonia rapidly vaporizes and its concentration in the atmosphere can be quite high if it is spilled in significant quantities. Spread by the action of the wind, the gas cloud is capable of covering vast areas.

Scientific predictions, made by associates of Odessa Institute of Low Temperature Equipment and Energy's department of chemistry, environmental protection, and rational use of nature that is headed by Professor A. Tsykalo, say that during a spill of 10,000 tons of liquid ammonia, a concentration that is dangerous for life will spread for 11.5 kilometers and, if the ammonia pipeline is destroyed (expelling 500 tons of ammonia under high pressure)—it will spread for 7 kilometers.

Under Odessa Priortovyy Works' actual [operating] conditions, significantly larger spills are also possible. We saw a diagram of a possible poison cloud destruction zone during an accident with a spill of 100,000 tons of ammonia at Black Sea Maritime Steamship Line. The diagram was compiled based on calculations and model experiments. The depth of the lethal concentration totals almost 30 kilometers and the harmful concentration—100 kilometers with wind speeds of 1 meter per second and a temperature of plus 20 [degrees Celsius]. Odessa and Nikolayevka Oblasts and a portion of the Moldavian SSR with a total population of half a million people and, taking holiday-makers into account, approximately four

million people end up in the accident zone. With southeasterly winds, the cloud can reach Kiev and with northwesterly winds—it will completely encompass the Crimea.

And all of this is far from an idle daydream. Scientists and experts who are qualified in their areas are in no way engaging in the groundless incitement of passions around Priportovyy Works. Alas, the existence of the chemical enterprise is a reality and we need to deal with it.

Those who think that the works is only engaged in the production and shipment of ammonia are thoroughly mistaken. The capacity has been developed to process even more dangerous chemical substances here—methanol and nitrile acrylic acid. Two systems operate to produce carbamide. They are operating a superphosphoric acid transshipment system. It seems that we can endlessly continue the list of very dangerous, in an ecological sense, production.

How reliable is Odessa Priportovyy Works' equipment? Judge for yourself. According to Gosortekhnadzor [State Committee for Supervision of Safe Working Practices in Industry and for Mine Supervision] data for 1988-1989 and for the first quarter of 1990, there were 77 unscheduled shop outages—due to human error, failure of equipment, instrumentation, and automation, and voltage reductions. And, according to official data, last year Odessa Priportovyy Works discharged nearly 3,000 tons(!) of harmful substances of which approximately 500 tons was ammonia.

Experience shows that malfunctions, leaks, and nonclassifiable production stoppages are now more often the rule than the exception at Priportovyy [Works]. The probability of major accidents is increasing under these conditions.

Odessa Priportovyy Works Director V. Gorbatko himself admitted at a meeting of the Oblast Emergency Commission: During the last 10 years, works requests for replacement spare parts have only been 10 percent fulfilled. Consequently 90 percent of the equipment is in horribly poor condition since it has exceeded equipment service life.

We will add several more lines to complete the picture. Protection of the Priportovyy Works and its ammonia storage capacity in particular, do not meet requirements demanded of similar facilities (incidentally, we became personally convinced of this), and the possibility of, let us put it this way, malefactors penetrating onto the works' grounds has not been entirely excluded. Aircraft flights occur over Odessa Priportovyy Works. And a military range, on which various types of weapons including artillery are used, is located on the grounds right next to the works.

We are one step away from disaster.

Breathe More Deeply....

The latest accident occurred in Yuzhnyy on February 11. Incident investigation materials and eyewitness testimony permit us to sufficiently accurately reconstruct the course of events.

At 7:30 p.m., a sharp odor of ammonia was noted at the port where the English gas carrier Havpil was tied up and loading at the time. M. Kolesnik and T. Kirichenko, VOKhR [Militarized Guard] armed guards who were located at the third dock, were the first to be subjected to its effects. Having rescued themselves in their own booths from the poison gas cloud that covered the dock, the women began to communicate by telephone (there is no VHF radio equipment in the posts despite decisions approved long ago) with the works' dispatcher. When they succeeded in doing this, they heard a devastating answer: "You are mistaken. There are no leaks at all, everything is normal...."

The port's duty shift measured the concentration of ammonia in the air—it exceeded the PDK [Maximum Permissible Concentration] by a factor of five. They sounded the alarm and the evacuation of porters was begun. But the results are sad—32 people, actually the entire shift, was poisoned and two—the VOKhR armed guards—were hospitalized.

Just where did the ammonia come from on that evening? The gas carrier or the works could turn out to be the source of the discharge. A comprehensive analysis of the entire port zone showed that there was no leak on the ship. The captain also confirmed this. As is customary, ship systems were certified by a commission from Odessa Priportovyy Works, the port, and the crew upon arrival at the port.

At the same time, researchers and ecologists conducted their own investigation. According to their conclusion, the works' version according to which the discharge occurred on the Havpil contradicts the mechanics of atmospheric processes and does not correspond to the weather situation at that hour in the area of the Grigoryev Estuary: Under no conditions could warm air have moved from the estuary or from the dock toward the cool shore.

The most horrifying thing in this story is the fact that, even despite requests, no information at all about the danger or about the presence of the odor of ammonia on the enterprise's grounds arrived at the port from the works' dispatcher. As it turned out, the automatic system that monitors the environment was inoperative. But when such discharges of ammonia, occur you can determine that a danger threatens through the scent even without any instruments at all.

"During the last 11 years, the works has warned us about an accident only once," says Port Deputy Director for Safe Working Practices and Safety V. Boldyrev. "That was in April 1984 when a pipe burst on Priportovyy's grounds. At that time, we had to rescue all works

personnel and we were also evacuated. We have repeatedly appealed to Works Director Gorbatko and have asked him to guarantee our safety and to provide timely warning about all ChP [Extraordinary Events] but, as you can see, without results...."

A list of supplemental safety regulations was developed jointly by the works and the port after a serious accident while loading gas carrier *Noble Sky* in September 1988. One of its paragraphs includes, let us point out at the suggestion of the works' leadership, the permanent presence of a works representative on a ship to monitor during loading of ammonia and during crew operations and immediate cessation of loading during equipment malfunctions. Measures also provided for insuring effective operation of the automated system for monitoring the condition of the atmosphere on Odessa Priportovyy Works' grounds and in nearby population centers. But the benefits of these decisions have also remained on paper. The February accident is graphic confirmation of this. And the other, that occurred immediately after it while pumping ammonia onto *Smolnyy ChMP* [Black Sea Maritime Steamship Line].

Like a Bone in Your Throat

You cannot call relations between the dockers and the Odessa Priportovyy Works leadership neighborly. This is like a multi-round match of boxers with completely different [skill] categories. We think it is superfluous to explain what weight the director of the largest chemical enterprise had until recently not only in the Oblast and in the Republic, but also in the Union or how much powerful support the local party and government leadership (now to a greater degree already former [leadership]) provided to him when necessary. At the same, even the "judges" who control environmental organs continuously "favored" him.... But now fortune has turned away from him. The population is rising up and the ecological movement against the Odessa Priportovyy Works is growing now that we are finally getting to the bottom of this during the era of glasnost. And the works director has already been compelled to take up a perimeter defense.

The tactics selected in this case are appropriate. On one hand, V. Gorbatko does not miss an opportunity to publish calming articles in the local press or to write letters with assurances about Odessa Priportovyy Works' safety to the most varied authorities. "Ammonia and carbamide are produced in practically all developed countries of the world and no one has yet invented a method to do this without discharges into the atmosphere...." Does this really sound reassuring?

On the other hand, the works leader as before attempts to do everything so that "we do not wash our dirty laundry in public." Really, each leak of information is a trump card in the hands of Odessa Priportovyy Works' opponents. How much more calmly could V. Gorbatko live if there was not this foreign element—the maritime port—on the export chemical cargo production line. It is if he

has a bone stuck in his throat.... If a discharge or accident occurs at the works, the dockers are always "guilty" of raising noise around it.

Judging by everything, Priportovyy Works' director is dreaming of how to seize control of the port's "poison" docks. We were somewhat surprised at first, after having seen the following paragraph in one of the numerous "proposals for improving the ecological situation": "Transfer Yuzhnyy Port Docks No. 1-4 to Odessa Priportovyy Works maintenance...." We thought, why do this since even now technological maintenance of all equipment located up to the ship's cargo reception devices are completely under the works' control. Later the underlying reasoning of the behind the scenes activity began to come out: Odessa Priportovyy Works takes the port services under its wing and publicity already no longer occurs at the junction between the works and maritime transportation. Works employees have quite a few highly valued departmental benefits and privileges in our difficult times that they naturally do not want to lose and that is why "it is easy for the administration to teach them" how to hold their tongues.

Speaking about relations between the works and the port, it is impossible not to pay attention to this fact. Works employees, even though they do not have either plenty of or the latest word in equipment, are equipped with protective systems, but they have somehow forgotten to "share" them with the dockers....

"We have heard our fill of the agrochemical department's empty promises and right now we ourselves will solve these problems that Odessa Priportovyy Works should have resolved when they first began operating," says V. Boldyrev. "Black Sea Maritime Steamship Line was recently allocated 161,000 foreign exchange rubles for protective systems for port personnel and for crews of Soviet and foreign ships at anchor in Yuzhnyy. We have acquired gas masks and atmospheric contamination monitoring instruments with indicator tubes for various substances, special suits for our gas rescue team, and medical preparations. We have concluded a contract with a Swedish firm for delivery of five container shelters and prime movers to tow them. Now we will at least not be left to the mercies of fate in the event of an accident."

Will There or Will There Not Be Priportovyy?

Right now the question is essentially being posed just like that. An extra-department commission, formed at the direction of the USSR Council of Ministers to comprehensively study the ecological situation, was working in Odessa Oblast at the end of last year.

The prestigious scientists named Priportovyy Works first in a series of ecologically dangerous manufacturers. The commission's very detailed conclusion states, in particular: "Immediately develop a Grigoryev Estuary economic reorientation concept proceeding from Odessa Oblast's development as a recreation center while comprehensively

examining possible alternatives—transshipment of ecologically inert, harmless raw materials, resort and recreation development, etc. Determine the prospects for Odessa Priportovyy Works (retooling, elimination, and removal of ammonia storage) based on the general Grigoryev production center development concept. Cease further works development (introduction of new or expansion of existing capacity) until resolution of these issues....”

The overwhelming majority of the region's residents demand closing or retooling the works for production of ecologically safe products. Independent ecologists and experts, people's deputies, and “greens” contend that it is senseless to continue its operation. At the end of February V. Pilipenko, head of Black Sea Maritime Steamship Line, sent a letter to V. Doguzhiyev, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission on Extreme Situations and once again raised the issue about retooling the Priportovyy Works after the accident while loading the Havpil.

The steamship line is also an interested party in this case—if they close the existing dangerous production facility, it can anticipate large losses throughout the fleet and in Yuzhnyy Port. But to the credit of Black Sea Maritime Steamship Line's leaders, they place the State's genuine interests and the people's interests higher than departmental interests. Do the people in the Agrochemical [department] understand the danger Priportovyy Works poses? We think that there is no way they cannot understand. But the fact remains—the powerful union organization does not wish to forgo its profits for any reason, even if we are talking about the health or lives of millions of people. Obviously, they fear surrendering their position most of all...

We also managed to talk to a lot of people both in Odessa and in Yuzhnyy so that we obtained a sufficiently precise perception of public opinion regarding Odessa Priportovyy Works' future. But along with everything else, we also heard these pessimistic assessments: Just who, they said, will close or cease production if it provides hard currency? Let us clarify this. Priportovyy's chemical product exports total about 360 million rubles per year including 210 million in freely convertible currency. As far as we managed to find out, Odessa and the Oblast do not manage to get any crumbs out of this—everything goes to the center. And there it ends up in the Agrochemical Association's treasury or in the pooled State budget—you will agree that the local resident makes no difference in the big picture.

This problem is not personal but nation-wide. We are not talking only about Odessa Priportovyy Works but about our entire system of a foolhardy attitude toward nature and a devil-may-care attitude toward man.

Finally right now it seems to me that we are beginning to think about what is more advantageous: To take care of the healthy or to treat the sick? Is it compatible with the concept of humanity, morals, and with the logic of common sense to sell people's health for hard currency

that is not sufficient even to purchase medicine for those who have lost their health? During the many long years of departmental colonialism, our Black Sea health resorts have been transformed into an ecological disaster zone. Millions of people from all areas of the country and our children have been arriving here to rest and have been leaving ill.... Is it not time to think this over?

And we really can earn hard currency through other humane methods. You do not have to be a great economist to assess that we can obtain much greater profits while developing the resort industry and tourism in this unique climactic zone while creating sports and health complexes and rest facilities instead of chemical enterprises.

The question—Will there or will there not be Priportovyy?—remains open for now. We would like to hope that reason would nevertheless win out.

Yablokov Views Tyumen Gas, Oil Complex Development Ecology Concerns

*90WN0027A Moscow POISK in Russian No 13,
29 Mar-6 Apr 90 p 3*

[Interview with A. Yablokov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Ecology and the Rational Use of Natural Resources Committee by Aleksandra Mukhina: “In Short Supply - Clean Air”]

[Text] For more than a year a discussion has been going on regarding the construction in the Tyumenskaya oblast of large-scale oil, gas and chemical complexes. POISK organized a public, economic study of the Tyumen problem and offered the results to our readers in the article, “Tyumen: A Step Towards Disaster?” (POISK No 6, 1990). Our experts, workers from the Institute of Economics and Forecasting Scientific-Technical Progress, Doctor of Economic Sciences A. Nekrasov, Candidate of Economic Sciences G. Sychev and Senior Scientific Worker V. Lopukhin, voiced their views on the problem. According to the specialists' evaluation, the Tyumen plan could deal a crushing blow to our economy. Ecologists also criticize the project. We asked Aleksey Yablokov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Ecology and the Rational Use of Natural Resources Committee, to explain the ecological aspect of the problem.

[POISK] The official version regarding the construction of the oil, gas and chemical complexes is that the new facility will be “clean” and safe. You have a different point of view. Why?

[YABLOKOV] During a meeting in the USSR Council of Ministers the leaders of ministries and departments and specialists who are directly involved with the complex under construction actually tried to convince the people's deputies that the complexes will be ecologically “clean.” However, the government was not able to prove the safety of these facilities to us. The data which I have

obtained from "green" organizations abroad force me to seriously doubt the "cleanliness" of the complexes. However, without the corresponding documents and without having conducted a serious ecological impact study, it is impossible to make a definitive decision. But it is already clear that the new construction signifies a disruption of the ecological balance over a wide area. For example, the largest TETs in the world is in Surgut and the ecological situation there is already dramatic. Therefore, the planned complexes might become the last straw...

There are more than enough arguments "against." We are familiar with numerous examples when Western firms have taken advantage of the economic difficulties of our country in order to force ecologically "dirty" industrial production on us. Besides that, we cannot ignore the obvious fact that any construction in the area of permafrost is fraught with serious consequences. The thawing soil gives off large quantities of gases into the atmosphere. But this problem was not even mentioned in the project calculations!

[POISK] In the extraction of oil a huge quantity of hydrocarbon compounds is burned up, billions of cubic meters of gas. Advocates of the project promise that when the new enterprises are put into full operation the torches will stop polluting the atmosphere since the natural gas which is burned in them today will be completely processed "tomorrow."

[YABLOKOV] The story of the torches is rather entertaining. At first the former oblast leader announced that the new complexes will resolve all the problems associated with concurrent gas. The industry minister, N. Lemayev, later in answer to a delegate's direct question said that "about 70 percent" of the torches would be extinguished. According to the data of our experts, however, no more than 20 percent would be turned off. According to the other, most optimistic predictions, no more than 50 percent.

Scientists have been witnesses to how Bashkir, Orenburg and other oil refineries have turned their own regions into ecological disaster zones. The air there, figuratively speaking, is pure petroleum products. However, do we need yet another "disaster zone?" After all, we need to build so that the ecological situation improves and not vice-versa. Apparently, not everybody in the government understands as yet the ecological imperative.

[POISK] If the declarations of the project's advocates are to be believed, the leadership of the national okrugs, as well as the nonnative population, are totally in favor of the complexes. So before building, it turns out that they consulted the inhabitants of the Tyumenskaya oblast?

[YABLOKOV] Consulted? That's a new one. In all a couple of dozen people attended the meeting which was called by administrative order. They are the ones that supported the idea of construction. But at other meetings which the "greens" held, not dozens but thousands attended! There severe criticism of the project was

heard. We have petitions in our committee signed by more than 20 thousand local inhabitants protesting the new construction project.

Ignoring the opinion of the Tyumen residents is not only wrong but it is dangerous. After all, this could lead to conflict in the region and then the unfinished complexes might be just erased from the face of the earth, and hundreds of millions of rubles thrown to the wind.

[POISK] So the project was not thought through. How, in your opinion, should it have been accomplished?

[YABLOKOV] Before beginning a construction project, you need to have a fundamental scientific basis for the project. Naturally, it has to be coordinated with the region's development plan. However, in our case the projects for the complexes were not coordinated with the long-range development plans of the Tyumen region. The new project, by the way, was also not correlated with the future development of the chemical industry on a national level.

[POISK] As I understand it, we are talking about a complex impact study. Who should do the study?

[YABLOKOV] In our case the state ecological impact study came out against the complexes. However, the deputy chairman of Gosplan [State Planning Commission] in a speech before the deputies, announced that the result of the ecological impact study was positive. That is pure falsification, juggling the facts.

The chairman of Goskompriroda [State Committee for Nature] at the same meeting confirmed that the ecological impact study had given a negative response. It seems to me that after such an embarrassment the official who lied should resign! We are thinking now about whether he should be made to answer - procedures provide for harsh sanctions for knowingly giving the deputies false information.

Today nobody has to be convinced of the necessity for an objective, competent study by experts. We are talking about the status of the commission of experts and the mandatory consideration of the conclusions reached by the specialists. We are also talking about the liability of officials for falsifying information obtained from scientists.

[POISK] Aleksey Vladimirovich, it seems to me that you are defending the priority of the state commission of experts. However, society now is going to the idea of a different type of commission of experts, an independent, public one.

[YABLOKOV] I can't agree with you. "State" experts can be sufficiently objective and independent, if they adhere to one important condition. And namely, we cannot allow the departments to pay the commission of experts. This is a kind of legal bribery. During the work of the commission of experts on the Moscow Northern TETs approximately half of the specialists were associated with the departments. The result was not difficult to predict.

The opinion that the public expert is more competent than the "state" expert is mistaken. Today we are becoming witnesses of how leading specialists in one area or another successfully play both roles. The important thing is just to choose the group in such a fashion that each of its members is a renowned specialist. The urgent problem is something else. How to force the departments not only to listen to the opinion of the experts but also to build their economic and ecological policy based on the results of the study? I once participated in a state ecological impact study on the Southern-Ukraine nuclear power station. We gave a negative response but the Ministry of Atomic Energy ignored our decision and the government supported...the ministry. If the government won't listen to the opinion of a group of experts created by its own will, then public experts will be even less able to influence the course of events.

Of course, an independent public commission of experts has a right to exist. Any study is good if it is objective and produces results. But first of all we currently need to elevate the status of the state ecological commission of experts.

[POISK] In the West according to legislation any project must include a declaration of the project's authors on the possible impact of new construction on the environment. In our country the expert acts as a criminal investigator. In the West, however, it is economically disadvantageous to hide the truth. If it turns out that the new construction will pollute the environment to a greater degree than the project's authors had declared, then the firm suffers colossal losses and can even be put out of business all together. It is therefore advantageous for the project's authors to exaggerate the possible consequences, to be overcautious. Isn't it time that we too punished cheaters mercilessly?

In the West a firm invites renowned specialists for consulting services; it is advantageous that the results of the study be objective. Besides, the project will undoubtedly be published in the press and the opinion of the inhabitants of the city or state in this regard will be noted. But in our country responsible officials stoop to falsifications! If this had happened in the West, he would have immediately lost his credibility and his job...

Census Statistics for Latvia Examined

90UN1300A Riga CINA in Latvian 8 Mar 90 p 3

[Article by P. Zvidrins: "Our Demographic Pluses and Minuses"]

[Text] An article by Professor P. Zvidrins was published last year on January 31st in CINA with the same title as above. A year has elapsed and it seems that it would be interesting for our readers to learn whether we have moved forward in the direction of demographic recuperation.

The first January 1989 census results are available. For the first time, without restrictions, the national statistical committee's yearly bulletin "Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic's Inhabitant Natural Movement and Migration" (for 1988) was published openly. True, as usual up to now, it was published only in Russian. In Moscow, the other statistical yearbook was published, "USSR Population: 1988", in which a sizeable section was also allocated to the characterization of all Soviet Republics demographic development statistics.

And so, in spite of the aggravation of the political and economic situations, the data shows that the demographic situation in our republic has improved slightly. Without doubt, the demographic situation in total is still tense and according to many characterizations the situation is even unfavorable; although several positive trends have appeared.

The natural population growth in 1988 reached 8,900 people, and that was the fourth greatest increase since 1965. The relative natural growth per 1,000 inhabitants (3.3) was even higher than in all other Baltic Sea basin capitalist countries. Among the Soviet Republics it was only lower in the Ukraine.

Last year, when compared to the year before, the natural growth however decreased by about 2,000 because the birth rate dropped. However, the increase exceeded 6,000. In comparison, let's note that at the end of the seventies natural growth for practical purposes almost didn't exist, and for the Latvians from 1973-1981, and also in 1985, it was even negative.

It should be emphasized that in the eighties, due to the demographic political influence, the birth rate increased visibly. From 1986 to 1988, for the first time in the last four decades it was sufficient for a complete generation change. Only in Poland and Estonia, of all the Baltic Sea basin countries, was the birth rate slightly higher, but in other countries in the region - considerably lower. Typically, in neighboring Lithuania, the birth rate in 1988 for the first time was lower than in Latvia. And as a result of this birth rate, the ageing process of the population increased, especially in rural areas.

Still the question remains about the qualitative characterization of newborn. The weight of premature babies increased (4.2 percent in 1988). Children born with birth defects also increased, as well as schoolchildren with

mental and physical defects. A good proportion of the newborn was unwanted children, although in 1987 there were 55,000 registered abortions, but in 1988 - 50,000. Of the nine Baltic area countries, only in Estonia were there nearly this many abortions per 1,000 women ages 15 to 49. Indeed, there is a tendency for this number to decrease.

The population's health and life-span is improving slowly. The average life-span, which increased noticeably in the 80's, however, still has not exceeded the level achieved in the 60's. In 1988 this measure for men (66.3 years) still was the lowest among the Baltic Sea basin countries. It is especially unfavorable in the countryside (63.8). This indicator is also low for women (75.1). In Europe only in some socialist countries, for example in Poland, Ukraine, and Estonia, is it similar. But in Moldavia it is even lower. The prime cause for that is the high death rate from circulatory diseases, even among the working age groups, in the same way the high accidental death rate from poisoning and traumas.

In 1988 2,933 people died from unnatural causes, among them 2,033 men. Still many of our contemporaries die in transportation accidents (762) and suicide (613). However, the frequency of suicide has decreased; yet it still is one of the highest in the world, particularly among men. The number of registered alcoholics (54,000 last year) also increased.

The infant mortality rate is the only one seen as relatively low. In 1988 it reached the lowest level in the history of the republic (11 deaths per 1,000, up to one year old). That is a record for the entire Soviet Union, because for the time being a lower rate has not been recorded for any other republic. However, this rate still substantially lags behind developed nations. In Japan, Finland, Sweden, and some others it is five to six. Besides, the differences are even greater because we have to consider the indicator calculation methods. Last year, as the prior data shows, infant mortality unfortunately again increased a little.

Our republic can always "be proud" of its high divorce rate among the Soviet Republics and all of Europe. Only in several American states is it noticeably higher. From 1980 to 1989 117,000 divorces were registered. Indeed the divorce rate has decreased in the last decade. However, the 1987-88 rate (42-43 divorces per 1,000) is very high. Besides, it again increased slightly last year. That 37 percent of total marriages are ethnically mixed (among native Latvians close to 20 percent) is only one of the factors in our unstable families, but not the most important.

It is generally known that the republic's demographic development is characteristic of the systematic decrease in the native-born population.

One year ago there were 1,387,600 ethnic Latvians which made up 52 percent of the republic's total population. Therefore, since 1979 the ethnic Latvians have decreased by 43,500. From the usual birth and death rate

census data it follows that the Latvian birth rate exceeds the death rate by only 2,000 (in comparison - ethnic Russians - 43,000, White Russians - 10,000, Ukrainians - 9,000). As estimated, about 10 percent of the Latvian population increase resulted from migration, but the rest of the total could have resulted due to assimilation. Two completed special research projects at the University of Riga in the demographic section in 1988-89 confirm that in ethnically mixed families Latvians more frequently assimilate foreigners rather than the other way around. It is possible that a small increase in the count (compared to the 1979 level) could have also resulted due to the incompleteness of the count.

Comparing the native population proportion in all fifteen republics, we see that only in Kazakh SSR at the beginning of 1989 was it lower (39.7%) than in Latvia. In Estonia it was 61.5% (1979 it was 64.7%), in Lithuania 79.6% (in 1979 it was 80%). In Kirgiz SSR in 1979 it was only 47.9% but in the period between the censuses it increased to 52.4%. Even in Kirgiz this proportion increased by 3.7; however, the difference up to the Latvian level is considerable. The Kazakh proportion in Kirgiz SSR increases systematically, but the Latvian proportion in Latvia still shrinks. We have to hope that in realizing the national social and demographic conditions this tendency; however, will be successfully overcome in our century.

We have to pay attention to the fact, that presently the Latvian count in the republic is less than before World War I and World War II (author's estimate: 1.49-1.56 million at the start of 1914 and 1.49-1.5 million at the start of 1940). We should note that only 71,000 Latvians now live outside the present Latvian SSR; however, in 1939 it was 128,000. Therefore, the number of Latvians since 1940 in the USSR has decreased by at least 150,000 (sic) people. Among the larger republics only a similar situation has developed for the Moldavians whose total has decreased from 1,456,000 in 1939 to 1,154,000 in 1989. For comparison, we can mention that the number of Russians in the USSR increased by 46%; Ukrainians by 57%; White Russian by 90%. In Latvia the number of these Slavs has increased to 1,118,000 or almost six-fold.

A year has passed since the Republic's government and the Latvian Union council accepted Resolution No. 46. "On the Undertaking of a Population Count in Unfounded Artificial Growth Interruption and the Regulation of the Migration Process in the Latvian Socialist Republic". In connection with the achieved undertakings, the inter-republic migration balance in 1989 for a period was even negative. Moreover, of special significance is the migration increase in cities of Daugavpils and Rezekne. Obviously, there the mentioned resolution was fulfilled poorly.

As is known, in the last three decades the highest migration increase per 1000 inhabitants was in Latvia and Estonia when compared to all of Europe. In Latvia, from 1959 to 1969, the absolute average yearly increase comprised 14,300; from 1970 to 1978 it was 11,600, and

from 1979 to 1988 it was 9,300. Then the aforementioned "only" 2,000 last year is without a doubt a decrease in these overall dynamics. In addition, it must be pointed out that several executive committees are in favor of non-compliance with the aforementioned resolution's demands. That should be taken into consideration by newly elected deputies.

To summarize, it is concluded that the seeds of healing can be seen already. However, this process still asks for a more active role by the participation of all society. New undertakings must be put into practice even under partial economic independence conditions.

In order to work out the republic's general development concepts, coordinate the various programs, and realize individual undertakings, control the demographic situation in the republic and its regions, it would be useful to form a special government commission. Its formation was anticipated in the mentioned Resolution 46 which still is not accomplished.

In social and economic development planning it is necessary to strengthen the demographic component. The ANO symposium "Inhabitants and Development Planning", which took place in Riga at the end of last year, paid particular attention to that. I propose the development of a demographic and manpower resource section or department which also would deal with the improvement of demographic politics, manpower workload and distribution, and other questions. In order to regulate more effectively the inter-republic migration process, it is useful to develop and accept an immigration statute, taking into consideration the experience of other countries (including Estonia). More attention should be paid to the rational distribution of population. That can be partly accomplished by improving the existing complex long-term program "population".

It is necessary to enlist resources for a quicker development of an automated registration system of the republic's population. In addition, the population register should be fashioned on a sufficiently broad program

Based on the ANO convention resolution on children's rights passed November 20, 1989, it is necessary to work out a corresponding Latvian SSR statute. For this purpose a national social commission must be formed, incorporating the Latvian Children's Fund and representatives from the National Education Ministry and other departments and organizations.

Shundik Addresses 7th RSFSR Writers' Union Plenum

90 UN1631A Moscow LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA in Russian No 12, 23 Mar 90 pp 3-5

[Report by N. Shundik, RSFSR Writers' Union Board secretary: "Russia's Fate, Russians' Hopes"]

[Text] On 19-20 March Moscow was the scene of the 7th Russian Writers' Union Board Plenum. Topics on the

agenda were "The Fate of Multiethnic Russia and Contemporary Literature," "Discussion of a New RSFSR Writers' Union Draft Charter" and "On the Convening of the Regular 7th RSFSR Writers' Congress."

A keynote report entitled "A Never-Setting Guiding Star" was presented by N. Shundik, RSFSR Writers' Union Board secretary. A report on the new draft charter for the RSFSR Writers' Union was given by I. Strelkova. Participants in the ensuing discussion of these speeches including writers, heads of oblast, kray and ASSR writers' organizations and leaders of the RSFSR Writers' Union Board.

(This account of the plenum is derived from a slightly abridged stenographic record.)

A Never-Setting Guiding Star: Report by N. Shundik

The words which I have used as the title of this report were written by L. M. Leonov. They were the words he used to describe Russia in his article "Concern for the Fatherland's Welfare." Here is the beginning of that article:

"The most alarming thoughts come to mind at the present tragic fork in the road of our history. We face mind-boggling labor to bring our ruined Fatherland back to life." Alarming thoughts. They give us no rest. But this sort of concern for the Fatherland, for Russia, in the view of our patriarch, is natural and inevitable for the true citizen who is capable of acts of selflessness in the hour of need.

There exists the concept of a temple of the people's spirit. And many of us who have accepted unconditionally the idea of common human values have more than once in various connections declared: let us rebuff those who would defile that temple, who have attempted to transform it into a storehouse for their own equally false and ruinous truths, let us rebuff the bearers of the vulgar sociological approach with their metaphysical ossification of thought and in the future let us not take a single step without the living light of the dialectic. There is nothing darker than the clarity of uniformity, and the road to the temple cannot be sought in the darkness.

This from the CPSU Central Committee Platform for the 28th Party Congress: "Though maintaining the positions of the working class and all working people, we nonetheless renounce the overly simplistic class-oriented approach, which is contrary to common human values and the common values of the people." This is the key dialectical formula with the aid of which we must solve a most difficult equation, sometimes with many variables, that of the revolutionary renewal of our society. And for that we need algebra.

Yet the passion for perceiving the most complex things with the aid of arithmetic operations (two times two yields the sacred four) is still with us and is as fraught with disaster as before. We reject the fact that yesterday the priests of the vulgar sociological approach crept into

the temple of the people's spirit in their false red cassocks and destroyed everything there that to them seemed unacceptable to the new faith.

But the times have changed. The virus of the vulgar sociological approach has been diagnosed and condemned. But condemning a disease is not the same as treating it. There is only one way this virus can be defeated: if it is directly subjected to the living light of dialectics. And here is what one might see under that light.

Of course the path into the people's temple is opened up by people seeking truth, justice and positive change. But unfortunately in addition to them those who have changed the false red color of their cassock for some other, very indefinite color are also attempting not only to enter, but to burst into this temple. Yes, they are in a hurry to enter the temple in order once again to take their place in the pulpit as the chief preacher. And once again they are multiplying two times two and obtaining the sought-for four. If there is anything new in their arithmetic it is merely the fact that they have switched their ideological signs, plus to minus and vice versa.

Today those who decry the sins of yesteryear are riding on the horse which is the inverted ideological sign, crying "down with..." And this wave of "down with..." is solidly packed with yesterday's dynamite, of which it is formed, like in years past, with an explosive wave of groundless accusations. And even though the horse is now of a different color it is still of the same breed.

In years past this sort of accuser loved in their speeches to use the terrible grammatical prefix "anti", especially when they were accusing their fellow citizens of anti-Stalinism. Now today they and those like them easily let fly with words like "anti-restructuring," "anti-democracy" and "anti-humanism." And therefore with "anti" from this types of accuser is by incontrovertible logic transformed into a "for": on the contrary, for Stalinism, if we are referring to all the old indestructible spirit of obscurantism. Thus yesterday's curse can become today's curse.

And we must open the eyes of those who have been deceived and show them how much alive the old ways are, and that it has an amazing gift of mimicry, so that it can disguise itself as something new, r-r-revolutionary and democratic.

One prayer in a temple of the people's spirit should be the correctly understood national idea of a people, and naturally of the Russian people as well. It is very important that we deeply comprehend wherein lies the essence of that idea. Here, as in every other situation, we need algebra, or in other words the dialectic, else understanding of the national idea can easily be vulgarized and compromised.

The brightest minds both among Russians and among other peoples have always sought to prove that the international is impossible without the national, and

vice versa. Today this is axiomatic. But has anyone calculated how many of the severest sentences have been handed down against those who dared to consider the national and the international in dialectical unity, or how merciless judges have been when they considered this dangerous manifestation of chauvinism or nationalism? This could have been heard, for example, in the final hour of the Russian poet Pavel Vasilyev and Yakut poet Platon Oyunskiy. And there were so many such tragedies!

Yet this is the very dialectical formula which could help resolve many problems in our troubled interethnic family.

There are people who plainly call their Fatherland an empire, who with exceptional ease think of the Russian people as colonizers. And therein lies the most malicious lie of all, one which is designed to blow our multiethnic state apart. There has not been another case in human history so unique as ours, in which for many decades the so-called "colonizer" has been like a blood donor, helping the outlying areas get on their feet. The role played by Russia's budget in subsidies for other republics even today is well known. And it is not the Russian people's fault if untalented, power-hungry bureaucrats (and that is not a national phenomenon, but rather a social one) did not permit Russia's wealth to be used properly in other republics as well, just as they did not let Russia itself use its own wealth for the benefit of its own people. All the talk about some sort of classical empire, now the only one left in the world and supposedly miraculously spared disintegration, is as groundless as it is malicious and insulting to the Russian people. If we ask ourselves what positive things we have accomplished in 70 years, then it would be fair to mention above all this completely unique phenomenon: for many decades the nucleus of the Soviet State has radiated the energy of true asceticism, the energy of kindness and selflessness, an energy which gave birth to a new system of interethnic relations. This is an essentially new experience of significance to all humanity. And it is very lamentable that the arid wind of universal denigration is burning this truth out of our peoples' minds at a time when it should serve as a source of support at the present difficult time and its obvious beneficence should be defended by all means possible. In the end this truth withstood the severest trials of the terribly cruel war against German fascism.

Ideologists and philosophers, where are you? Why have you handed the right to illuminate this subject, or rather to obfuscate it, over to ignoramuses steeped in malicious word-twisting? Furthermore, why are we permitting people to strike blow after direct blow at Russia, the nucleus of the Soviet State, with impunity? Is it so hard to see how suicidal that is? For if that nucleus splits it could release destructive energy which could shake the whole world. I can see before me a scene from a recent television report. An old graybeard was walking through Dushanbe with his chest covered with orders and medals, crying, crying bitterly and asking: "What has happened? We all are, we all were, brothers—both Tajiks

and Russians, especially during the war; there was genuine friendship, but what have they done with it, what have they done?"

There it is, the testimony of a veteran: there was, there was friendship, and that is the highest truth! We are not so incapable of doing good. Rather it is those who talk about a colonial empire who are incapable. They have grown painfully fond of that description. But no, there is no colonial empire called the Soviet Union. It is a completely new, unique state entity, because we do not have an imperial philosophy or imperial thinking. These things are not at all part of the Russian people's tradition.

However, all the foreign radio voices are sullenly proclaiming our imperial ways. And strangely enough some of our countrymen are spending their days and nights before their microphones, like at a wartime headquarters. A microphone does not have a chance to cool off from the hot breath of some Sovietologist filled with hatred toward us before our own fighter against the "imperial" evil breathes on it with the same zeal, prophesying the disintegration of the Soviet Union and exulting in the successes of separatist movements in our country. Yet it is historical truth which is disintegrating. They are trying to place the Soviet Union and Russia on the same defendants' bench occupied by Fascist Germany 45 years ago. The millions of fallen Soviet soldiers are probably turning in their graves. Reason is disintegrating, and among some people the will to resist the insane onslaught which we are experiencing in our country is dissolving as well.

Yet at the same time there is underway a process of mobilization of Russia's will and spirit, mobilization of all that is best and most healthy in our Fatherland as a whole. To a great extent weakened by its burden as donor, and not just by that, Russia, like always in times of trouble, is mobilizing itself to repel the assault, turning to the untapped reserves of its indomitable spirit. This is confounding all our global opponents' strategic plans. It seems to them that the most favorable historical moment for settling scores with us has arrived. Either now or never. And therefore everything is coming from their direction: the slander, the provocations, the deception, and the insults against not only individuals, but against our entire people. And this in concert with destructive forces within our Fatherland, with the various fronts and associations. It is no exaggeration to say that millions and millions stolen by the bigwigs in the shadow economy—the "sovbury," or Soviet bourgeoisie, as A. Sergeyev, doctor of economic sciences, calls them—are going for these purposes.

That is the bitter truth to which we must face up.

A monstrous provocation on a global scale has been set in motion, beside which even the Reichstag Fire pales in comparison. I am referring to the so obsessively propagated myth of Russian fascism. Hitler in a Russian shirt and polished boots as depicted on anti-Russian handbills

is not just a harmless little joke. So we face the task of stripping the Fuhrer naked both ideologically and morally, along with those who are using this wild, dishonest trick as part of the so-called political struggle. No, this is a struggle of a different sort which has nothing to do with constitutional norms.

The myth of Russian chauvinism is a product of Russophobia. Attempts are being made to equate the concept of "Russian patriotism" with "chauvinism" and "fascism." But if we wish to transform a human being into a Mankurt capable of killing his own mother and having no memory of it, as was so insightfully depicted by Chingiz Aytmatov, then all we need do is deprive him of his sacred sense of patriotism. And that is just what those who struggle against so-called Russian chauvinism are attempting to do today, even though chauvinism anywhere else does not outrage them one bit.

When we talk about the Russian national idea in its most profound sense as a moral value common to all humanity I recall the words of Dostoyevskiy: "Becoming a real Russian, becoming fully Russian, perhaps means simply (underscore this above all) becoming a brother to all people." You may ask, where in that can there be any room for chauvinism, much less fascism? To become a brother to all people! Try to see in this anything which bespeaks imperial thinking. And here is another thought: where is there any reference here to being a chosen people, or to ethnic exclusiveness? That is why there exists a phenomenon so unique in its fraternal essence as the people of Russia [rossiyane].

There is no need to call Russians elder brothers, or at least there is no reason to make sarcastic comments about this. Let just one thing be clear to those whom they have managed to set against Russians, and that is that Russians are only happy when people see them as brothers, simply brothers.

Today those brothers are having a very hard time of it. Here are the terribly bitter words of A. Zverev, an engineer and RSFSR people's deputy candidate, published in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA: "It is as if a whirlwind has passed through the country; out of 700,000 villages 580,000 have been destroyed, as if by a bulldozer, by the label 'unpromising.'" I do not know if this person was elected deputy. He may not have been elected, or maybe they arranged it so that he was not elected, precisely because his spirit aches for Russia. A movement has come into being which calls itself "Democratic Russia" and which, it seems, even wants to become an independent party. I do not know about democracy, but the social demagoguery here is obvious. And that is a destructive force. And often the one who wields it triumphs—not morally, no, but immorally—over those who do not promise pie-in-the-sky.

But let us return to the tragedy of the 580,000 ruined villages, to the tragedy of our peasantry. Thank God, today we can say that word aloud. But just yesterday you could have been accused of every mortal sin for doing so.

Incidentally, Academician T. Zaslavskaya declared from the podium of the USSR Supreme Soviet that if anyone can prove that she had a hand in developing the theory of unpromising villages she would give up her position as deputy. In such cases the Americans say that they will eat their hats. Evidence was produced. Well, who determines how accurate the evidence is? And if it is accurate, then what about that "hat"?

I believe that our plenum would support Cosmonaut Sevastyanov, who posed this question in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA: "How can we restore the name of Sergiyev Posad to the city where the world-famous Trinity-St. Sergius Monastery is located, a place deeply rooted in Russia's history and culture?" Continuing, he writes: "In 1991-92 we will celebrate the 600th anniversary of the death of the one who inspired the Battle of Kulikovo, the great Sergiy Radonezhskiy. Our common task is to help Vladimir Oblispolkom commence reestablishment of the monasteries in Kirzhach and the village of Makhra which are connected with the name of Sergiy. It is essential that we in a more amicable manner and all together strive to revive the uprooted and damaged roots of our culture, our spiritual life, our very life itself." I submit that any one of us here today would put his signature under every word written by this renowned cosmonaut.

A long time ago I had a very sad thought, and I have shared it with many people: decapitated churches are, it is terrible to say, our ancestors decapitated in our minds decapitated by us. That is what is terrifying. In addition we have shortened ourselves by several heads, if we think about how we, according to our pure idea, should appear to the world. And for that reason it is precisely we, the atheists, who should restore these desecrated churches. We must atone for the heinous guilt of the false God-haters. They overthrew God, in the process overthrowing man. Sometimes in moments of communion with eternity this thought comes to me as well: when you hear a bell you catch the voice of your ancestors; the ancestor in you awakes when you look into eternity. In that ancestor is your beginning, and you are his continuation, and together you are a thousand years old. Without this feeling a human being is like a dayfly.

Much of what I have said is contained in a well-known letter signed by 74 writers. If you count the responses we have received to this letter, then the number of signatures is even greater. However, the April Council was quick to publish an article in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in which it was recommended that our plenum give "unambiguous assessment" of this letter. Well, that will probably happen; there will be an assessment of the letter, and of April's position. Of course we are well aware that attempts will be made to distort the intent of our letter as much as possible. Well, we will argue, and we will argue with dignity. If only we had an equal chance. I am talking about the mass media. In reference to them V. Korotich once said on television: "A revolution is underway, and thus it is necessary to seize the post office and the telegraph office." To what revolution is he

referring? To all appearances to the one whose beginning was announced by Yu. Afanasyev on 4 February of this year at a rally in Moscow.

It is no coincidence that V. Korotich was by his side at that moment. But the overwhelming majority of us, Russian writers, remain loyal to the October Revolution, for we realize that if someone did distort its idea in its pure form, then that someone was the bearers of the vulgar sociological approach. Now they, after a fair bit of effort aimed at ruining and vulgarizing one revolution, have changed their ideological garb and are scheming about a new 1990 February Revolution. Hence the signal to seize the post office and the telegraph office. Incidentally, to a large extent these were already seized long ago. And it was on purpose that V. Korotich let it be known that people who think like the majority of Russian writers must be gotten as far out of the picture as possible. We have in fact already been pushed out in the most unceremonious manner. It is simply intolerable for Russia for this state of affairs to continue.

At this point I would like to ask: when will Russia have its own state television system? They mollify us by telling us that now there is a Russian channel. But Russia deserves more than one channel; it is worthy of a mighty river like the great Volga, a river of its own television broadcasting.

We hope that the election of a president of the USSR will set many things in our society aright. I assume that everyone will agree with me when I say that the Presidential Oath and the president's Appeal to the Soviet People pronounced at the 3rd USSR Congress of People's Deputies were essentially prayers in the Temple of the People's Spirit. We heartily congratulate Mikhail Seigeyevich on his election to this post. I believe that there is no reason to fear a return of those traditions under which the leading individual in the state was accorded official super-veneration. God forbid that any one of us ever attempt to set out on that path again. The very fact (and this has not yet been adequately interpreted and evaluated as a revolutionary invention of ours) that by his own example and through his own life M. S. Gorbachev has proved how the leading individual in the state is quite capable of parting with the things which were once part of the inviolability of the "infallible" leader actually precludes the possibility of a return to the past. But that does not mean that a tradition of the opposite trait could not take hold, in which some citizen, even a people's deputy, confuses a sense of his or her own independence with flagrant impoliteness, if not boorishness. Or, worse, might hope on this basis to win political capital, saying "look how little attention I pay to the opinion of others." Of course one should not kowtow to higher-ups, but it is essential that we observe the basic standards accepted in society.

There have also been cases in which M. S. Gorbachev's opponents have waged a political struggle against him outside the rules of honor.

Today certain leftist radicals have made it their strategic objective to prove that the party has not played any role in the revolutionary changes presently taking place in our society. This was exactly the thinking espoused by Yu. Boldyrev, USSR people's deputy, over Leningrad Television. According to him there is no basis for saying that the party took the lead in restructuring; its upper echelons were simply up against the wall and were forced to take that step. That was the way he put it: "up against the wall."

But would it have been so difficult for Yu. Boldyrev to figure out, if he was in harmony with the dialectic, how much courage was required of party leaders to take that first step, to give the first impetus toward such major changes in society? What risks did this entail for them? Are we not familiar with the way in which the Stalinist-Brezhnevist style of conducting party affairs was developed, a style under which it was so easy to crush anyone who dared to challenge it?

Continuing, N. Shundik analyzed CPSU efforts at restructuring and warned: even today there are more than enough extremely conservative forces dreaming of a returning to the old system, especially since the leftist radicals, if we look at the hard truth in all its dialectical complexity, are doing a great deal to help them in this regard. In spite of their hatred for one another there are times when they hug and kiss, because extremes often have similarities between them. Furthermore, it is quite fair to suppose that if everything had remained as it was before, then many of the present leftist radicals would be very diligently providing the organizational, scientific and ideological basis for a new Brezhnev Era, since they have a very solid body of experience in such matters.

At this point I should note that we, Russian writers, deem it absolutely essential that a Russian CP [Rossiyskaya Kommunisticheskaya Partiya] be established. It, renewed, would be capable of finding the road to the Temple of the People's Spirit and of making the people's aspirations its prayer and its will to action.

The first address to the people by our first president contained these words: "Recently a threat has arisen from the dissemination of nationalistic, chauvinistic and racist slogans. We must struggle against this mercilessly, applying the full force of the Constitution and our country's laws." Of course, these are the kind of words which must be measured in algebraic terms. And if anyone tries to interpret them on the arithmetic level, setting himself a task whose solution would inevitably include a solution favoring his narrow, subjective perception of the processes occurring in our society, then that would be very far from what the president demands.

Of course, when a vile anti-Semitic slogan adorns the T-shirt of an individual without memory who assumes that he represents the memory [pamyat] of the Russian people, there cannot be two opinions on this score: of course this is an anti-constitutional act. But Russophobia and the Zionist ideology are also completely

obvious racism, demeaning the dignity of all peoples, including the Jewish people. And if we say that for us memory is the memory of Vladimir Chivilikhin, who wrote the novel/essay "Pamyat," in which the main characters are historical figures, Russians of great nobility, then we will bring up our young people that way, above all through every line of our works. Where there is rudeness there is no room for historical memory. But who is erasing it? Above all the patrons of ersatz culture.

We talked at the top of our lungs about the viciousness of it at our on-site secretariat session in Ryazan, but for this reason we were immediately called obscurantists.

Sometimes you ask yourself this bitter question: what is the difference in terms of crudeness and offensive intent between Russophobic sentences in OGONEK and anti-Semitic slogans on some memoryless individual's T-shirt? And there is only one answer: there is only one copy of the T-shirt, but in OGONEK the same vile stuff, though from the opposite viewpoint, is printed in millions of copies. For example, any paragraph in the article "The Sharikov Children, One Year Later" could be the model for any left-wing radical's T-shirt.

Incidentally, for some reason OGONEK's editor-in-chief has on more than one occasion called himself the "watchdog of restructuring." A strange self-description and one which is, in my opinion, insulting to an educated man. However, he knows best. But if this image was dreamed up for the purpose of intimidation, I would be so bold as to ask him this extremely direct question: what sort of restructuring is he in favor of? If he favors the sort of restructuring referred to in an article by I. Klyamkin "The Difficult Descent from Towering Heights," which was published in Issue No 5 of OGONEK this year, then that article quite plainly states that socialism is a myth and an illusion and supposedly we have used this fetish-word long enough, a word which leads "uninformed fellow citizens" astray from the path of reason. Perhaps for the first time in the Soviet press Klyamkin's article stated frankly that the time has come for power in our country to change hands, stated it like this: "The struggle for power is normal." Well, let us note that and clearly define on which side of the barricades we find ourselves. The April representatives who are constantly provoking clashes with us should also know this.

At this point I would like to point out the main thing which puts us on different sides of the barricade.

The problem is that nowadays it is truly no big deal to claim that you are for restructuring. Now the definitive question is on the agenda: what sort of restructuring do you favor? If you are in favor of the kind which motivates the separatists in the Baltic republics, then that is one thing. If you are in favor of correcting the deformations of socialism in our country, then that is another.

At one April session held on 16 September 1989 harsh accusations were levelled at PRAVIDA for publishing

disinformation, which allegedly accompanied its coverage of activities by people's fronts in Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia.

At the session angry expressions like "imperial ambitions," "dictatorship" and "Russian chauvinism" could be heard. A telegram from April to the CPSU Central Committee was read aloud; in that telegram the CPSU Central Committee was accused of putting overt pressure on the Baltic republics. It also stated that the Central Committee, you see, is engaging in apparatus games in regard to this difficult issue. But you may ask: and what sort of games is April playing? And what can its leaders say now, after the latest events in Soviet Lithuania? I emphasize the word "Soviet," even though now Sajudis is at work there to eradicate that word everywhere it can, even from the republic's name. If we assume that this is not so dramatic for the members of April then they will continue to go along with their pet Sajudis, yet for the millions of working people of various nationalities, including Lithuanians, who simply cannot feel themselves anything but citizens of the USSR this is truly a tragedy. Lives are being destroyed and shock waves are tearing our countrymen apart. Look where terrible cracks have been found, dividing people along national and political lines. Who encouraged this, we or April? Who would like to see something similar happen in other republics as well, including Russia, we or April? The answer is clear: April. So how can they dare accuse us of sowing interethnic hatred and intolerance? What system will be inevitable in Lithuania if the folks from Sajudis get their way? Capitalism, obviously. So we ask: what is April's position on that? Somehow we do not see them recommending preservation of the socialist system in Lithuania. That is what puts us on different sides of the barricade.

It is a well-known fact that a military unit from bourgeois Lithuania fought on the Hitlerites' side at the Battle of Stalingrad. Now some people in Lithuania have remembered the Lithuanian fascists and want to put up a monument to them there. The ones who faced the Lithuanian fascists were young men, soldiers burned by the "hot snow." So what right do the members of April have to accuse any Russian Soviet writers—few or many—of being fascists? And what is their position on the rehabilitation of Lithuanian fascists? These are questions which demand answers.

That is the correlation of literary forces, and not just literary ones, at this "tragic fork in the road of our history." The schism is an accomplished fact. We are not to blame for that, but rather those who intend for power in our country to change hands. We cannot seek a compromise with people who have that sort of aspirations, for that would be a betrayal of ourselves and, moreover, a betrayal of the Fatherland. Just yesterday we were still extending a hand of friendship to those with whom we argued; today that is no longer possible. But we are willing to take the hand of anyone who will say clearly and plainly: we lost our way at the crossroads, but now our choice is made—we are for socialism. That is

the one indispensable condition upon which we are prepared to accept the idea of consolidation.

Let us note that the members of *Aprél* prefer to talk with Russian writers as if they were a cornered enemy, using a tone like RAPP [Russian Association of Proletarian Writers, 1925-32] members at a new stage of their development. It seems to some of them that they are dealing with some sort of boxer's punching bag. But when that turns out to be far from the real situation, then indignation follows: how can you dare to wage the battle without following the rules? But just look what kind of rules they have.

Continuing, the speaker commented on the well-known facts in the case of slander against V. Lichutin and the overexposure and vulgarization of Yu. Boldyrev's speeches and statements at the 19th Party Conference and in the press. Then N. Shundik said:

The word "accord," which has done good at all times and among all peoples, is especially precious to us today. I was greatly impressed by the speech given by Academician Dmitriy Sergeyevich Likhachev at the 3rd USSR Congress of People's Deputies, in which he talked about the need for the kind of high-level accord which would make it possible to calm a country, as he put it, awash in emotions, fraught with civil war and, perhaps, with bloodshed. Thus was a hand extended to all people of good will, and we cannot help but appraise this gesture in the most worthy fashion.

But what about those who are stubbornly attempting to drive a storm wave of meetings through the country with a crest of blind "down-with-ism"? It is clear that something must be done to settle them down. But the overwhelming bulk of the press portrays those who oppose them as untalented individuals, throwbacks, yesterday's people. Recall how at the 1st USSR Congress of People's Deputies Yu. Afanasyev insultingly taunted his colleagues: "I appeal to you, the aggressively obedient majority." You see, the speaker had lost his temper because many deputies had not immediately adopted the platform of the interregional group. Well, there were some constructive ideas in that platform. Yet how many things it contained which were cause for alarm! People thought it over. They did not want to be simply a stick in the fire of political passions. They felt the weight of responsibility to their own history and did not want to throw it all away on the basis of an appeal in which they could sense something wrong. And has not that wrongness manifested itself fully in Yu. Afanasyev's present position? Was he not among those who urged the people to declare a general warning strike before the 2nd USSR Congress of People's Deputies? Did he not count on precisely the **obedient** majority when he gave the signal? Now that majority would be just to his liking, so long as it was **obedient** to him and to his group.

Yu. Afanasyev loves to give interviews left and right, both at home and abroad. And he is not the only one. In these interviews our populists often paint something like

official self-portraits in glowing colors, always with a scepter in their hands in the form of a magic wand which they allegedly possess. But they do not have a magic wand, and they cannot summon forth anything except the latest disappointment for a people tormented by the expectation of changes for the better. However, the portraits of these saviors from every problem do get painted, and cunning, flattering journalists from the left-wing radical press add their own colors, resplendent with servility. I want to warn not only those who are perhaps already willing to raise these portraits above their own confused head at demonstrations and rallies, but also those who pose for the false painters: do not lose your sense of moderation, do not let them carve idols out of you in their efforts to attract millions of new idol-worshippers, and remember that all this has happened in our history before, and that it brought much evil with it.

It was with bitter incomprehension that I heard this statement made by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin in the United States: "I flew around the Statue of Liberty twice and became twice as free." Thus a former party official himself measured the depth of his own convictions, and it is difficult to accept the idea that arithmetic was enough here; I would like to see this person in a completely different dimension.

One gets the impression that during his American trip B. Yeltsin wore both rose-colored glasses and black glasses. He used the rose-colored ones to look at America, hence the childlike rapture, strange for a grey-haired politician, in which he lost all sense of reality as well as, unfortunately, all his dignity. Then he used the black glasses to look at our country from across the ocean, permitting himself descriptions which even confounded many Americans, and it is understandable that some of them attempted to take both pairs of glasses off their Soviet guest so that truth would be a little more accessible during discussions.

What can you say, the genius of the American people is worthy of admiration, it is true. However, it is also true that there is no paradise anywhere on earth, nor does it exist in America. Testimony by great American writers about the nature of capitalism are considerably more authoritative for us than the observations of B. Yeltsin or A. Adamovich. Remember how from the podium of the USSR Supreme Soviet A. Adamovich related this witty remark that someone had made: maybe we should make one republic capitalist, so that it could keep up the living standard of all the others while they are on their way to that bright future. Of late Adamovich has been fond of telling anecdotes at the podium. Thus, at an *Aprél* session he cheered his fellow thinkers with a little joke about how a drunk Russian peasant woke up and asked: where is the czar? I would like to ask Adamovich: where is your sense of elementary self-control? If he were not already so "democratically" uninhibited it would probably not occur to him to insult Russian peasants and at the same time Belorussian ones, too, since they are kindred.

Indeed, both B. Yeltsin and A. Adamovich forgot that there exists a worldwide literature devoted to the nature of the bourgeoisie. And it would be very useful for many of us to go back and reread Warren's novel "All the King's Men," for example, in which he studies the nature of populism as a product of the same insidious evil as social demagoguery. And we should also delve deeply into the nature of the warning which runs like a thread through Warren's whole novel: do not mistake the grimace of populism for the sacred smile of saving good, for there is no more serious mistake than that.

I would raise high at all rallies where populists compete to slander their opponent most vilely and make the most extravagant promises to the people a banner inscribed in fiery letter with the most important slogan of all: caution, the number one danger is social demagoguery!

In one interview B. Yeltsin said that he would agree to run for president of the Russian Federation if 50 percent of the deputies held the same views as himself. There is a question that nags at many people nowadays: what are you saying, esteemed Boris Nikolayevich? It is true that you have found the road to the Temple of the People's Spirit? And are you sure that your fellow thinkers have found that road? In response to the question of a student in Leningrad in regard to whom to vote for, you said: we will give you lists. We will not even mention the fact that this sounded like the old command style; there is something else which is of importance.

At a rally on 25 February, also in Leningrad, a deputy candidate named Matveyev accused the authorities of immorality and stated that he was one of those people who are prepared to tear down the walls of the Kremlin just like the Germans are presently tearing down the Berlin Wall. Such was the level of his morals, intellect, culture and civic honor. He was very militant, this young man, and felt like a hero. This kind of heroism is currently in vogue, the kind of heroism in which the "bold ones" compete to see who can spit the most into the well from which they themselves must drink. But we remember the unparalleled valor of those who in 1941, casting a last parting look at the inexpressibly precious walls of the Kremlin, marched straight from a military parade to battle. Only three out of a hundred returned. Now only a tiny fraction of one percent of them are left. They, too, have a right to ask: if on the basis of your lists, esteemed Boris Nikolayevich, a person who is prepared to tear down the Kremlin walls were to become a people's deputy, then what awaits Russia? This is perhaps the most important question at this "tragic fork in the road of our history" which you are obligated to ask yourself and for which you are obligated to find a clear-cut answer. Yes, obligated.

To be or not to be? This is the feeling with which you and I are assembled at this plenum here today. Thus it was at the previous plenum, and at the secretariat's session in Ryazan. There we pondered the spiritual health of young people and women's honor. The people from OGONEK tried in an especially vicious way to ridicule this in the

article "Provincial Anecdotes." I would like to ask them: where has chivalry gone? Or what about being a man, repeating after Pushkin "I remember a wondrous moment"; is that worthy of nothing more than an anecdote? "We have fallen upon the army in some sort of crazed onslaught, as if the need for it were completely past," said Anatoliy Lanshchikov in Ryazan. "As if the Pentagon had long since become merely a meeting place for proponents of complete disarmament." Lanshchikov is right: complete disarmament in the same breath as the Pentagon really is an anecdote, but a rather bad one. It seems that OGONEK is not looking for its anecdotal characters in the right places.

Naturally there was talk in Ryazan of Sergey Yesenin's significance to Russia. Who else but this poet, at the very height of the wave of the vulgar sociological approach, the wave of the Averbakh era, remained faithful precisely to the common human values which are discussed so much today? We talked about how Sergey Yesenin, with his tragic fate, is not only Russia's honor and conscience, but also one of its unhealed wounds. Recently people have once again begun roughly reopening that wound. For example, popular satirists, indulging in cheap Russophobia, allow themselves to address Russia in the form of this parody on the poet's line: "Are you still alive, old woman of mine?"

Our opponents are saying that Russophobia is a myth. But the whole problem is that Russophobia has for some people become a completely normal state of affairs, the norm.

I could cite as many examples of Russophobia as you wish. But I will give just one, one which proves that for certain people Russophobia has truly become the only way of thinking. Currently certain erudite individuals are competing against one another to find any place where any one of the greats ever said anything bad about the Russian people and about Russia, so as to justify Sinyavskiy's public lies about Russia. And not just Sinyavskiy's. What they come up with is immediately presented by the media as a great discovery. I would like to ask: what is happening to you, you malicious scholars, can you not see what moral deafness you are revealing, or what a mortal insult you are delivering? For the things said by the greats were addressed to their time and were born of their mood, their pain and at times their despair. Do not hide Sinyavskiy's motives behind someone else's pain, that is fundamentally inhuman, impolite and unaristocratic. Yet you boast of your European culture, your education, your humanism and subtle sense of tact.

You are aware of how our opponents monstrously distorted the events of the 6th Plenum of the Russian Writers' Union Board. Essentially the editors of OGONEK invented a forgery, presenting a fabricated account of the plenum. They completely ignored speeches by writers from autonomous regions. And that was to be expected.

Those who share OGONEK's viewpoint on the Russian literary process have long shown disdain for virtually every literature in the languages of Russia's peoples. This is especially intolerable today, at a time when we must esteem the true asceticism of our friends who have so stubbornly kept alive the flame on the hearth of their people's cultures. We must at least in our minds put ourselves in their position in order to understand what sort of torments they have endured and what a feat of valor they have performed, for they labored over their lines at a time when they could see that they had fewer and fewer readers capable of reading their work in the original language. Just try to sit down and write with such a tragic sense of the real nature of things. Yet they stubbornly kept sitting down and minting word after word in their native languages, preserving them like a sacred fire. What brilliant speeches there were at the 6th Plenum by representatives of all of Russia's literatures, speeches testifying to the stance of genuine internationalists, at a time when the most important thing of all is to preserve the most precious thing, that which determines Russia's spiritual health: the unity and brotherhood of all its peoples. Consider, for example, what was said by Gorno-Altay poet Brontoy Bedyurov: "The peoples of Russia, who at various times and under various circumstances became part of the great Russian family and who have defended its interests with their own blood, will not abandon it in this terrible time of trials." Do I need to stress how important it is to hear and understand this as we stand at "this tragic fork in the road of our history"?

OGONEK, as well as other publications with the exception of LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA, did not print a single word about these speeches. Why? It was simply not advantageous in regard to their accusations. And accuse they did, in very uninhibited language. Take, for example, the tone of an accusation levelled by Artur Petrovskiy in his article "The Mob Syndrome," which was published in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. I quote: "I have read the stenographic record of the latest RSFSR Writers' Union plenum. ...Indeed, what is to be done with this frantic hatred? Well, they are not rereading Lenin!... Well, then let them read Solovyev, Berdyayev and S. Bulgakov." But it is not true that Petrovskiy read the stenographic record of the plenum, no, he was content to read the "account" published in OGONEK, otherwise he could have read the things we said about Lenin. Here I quote absolutely verbatim what Feliks Kuznetsov said at the plenum: "When Vladimir Karpets asked those attending to stand up in honor of the innocent victims who lost their lives then naturally everyone, including myself, could not help but stand up and honor the memory of those innocent victims. That was as it should be. But I would like for Vladimir Karpets to realize that this does not mean that I agree with his assessment of Lenin and the October Revolution. The revolution is a fact of worldwide historical significance. It is a fact of our great, dramatic and tragic history. Today, in the presence of such broad political pluralism, it is impossible to reject any viewpoint. But just as we cannot allow Pushkin to be desecrated, neither

can be allow Lenin to be desecrated. I wish to express my complete disagreement with Karpets." And the audience applauded this speaker. That is the situation in regard to "frantic hatred." OGONEK misled our accuser, otherwise he would have understood our true attitude toward Lenin.

Issue No 1 of OGONEK for 1990 contained an accusatory speech directed at us by German Andreyev, some docent from the FRG, in which he characterizes the Russian Writers' Union as a racist organization and demands of the Soviet Government nothing less than procuratorial assistance in banning its activities. Does the editor-in-chief of OGONEK realize how deeply this article offended Russian writers? Later he himself, an international journalist well acquainted with all the charms of constitutional freedoms in the bourgeois paradise, wrote on this same subject. At one time he had high praise for a series of exposes by the daring German Gunther Walraff; it was Walraff who disguised himself as a Turk and experienced personally the meaning of true racism and much more in a country where the docent in question lives, the docent who took it upon himself to lecture us and even condemn us. Yes, we are insulted to such a degree that we have a right to take legal action.

For me personally there is no greater insult than allegations of anti-Semitism. Allow me to repeat something which I once published in LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA: "The Russian people, as one link in the chain of our international union, plays by no means the most minor role, and it comes as no surprise that our enemies, counting on the strategic alignment of dark forces like anti-Sovietism and Russophobia, are attempting to destroy precisely that link. They also count on anti-Semitism. I am personally repulsed by both one and the other and feel that they are phenomena of the same nature. And, in the words of Gorkiy, we should be as loathe to give our hand to an anti-Semite as to a syphilitic. Indignation is fully justified when the Jewish people are insulted. But it is equally justified when people insult Russians, or Chukots, or any other people." I assume that this is also LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA's standpoint.

That is something that both V. Korotich and his fellow thinker from the FRG should bear firmly in mind. Incidentally, I could not care less about the latter.

Of course the members of this plenum have a right to ask how their decision regarding the journal OKTYABR is being carried out. At this point I am once again forced to speak about the "excerpts" of Sinkiyavskiy's lampoon "Walks With Pushkin," which was published in that journal. Some people would have you believe that it was all just a little joke. But imagine if you will that someone had made the great Shota Rustaveli the target of this sort of "joke." You can imagine what wrath this would provoke among the proud Georgians. And every Russian, Ukrainian, Kazakh or Tatar would be in solidarity with the Georgians. And our opponents, including Anatoliy Ananyev, the editor-in-chief of OKTYABR, would without fail express their indignation at that sort of

"joke." And they would be right. But why are insults allowed when the subject is Pushkin?

You must also imagine what is going on today in the anxious Russian soul, how inhumanly and dangerously, as well as crudely, the things which are sacred to that soul are being flouted.

It is beyond comprehension that Anatoliy Ananyev does not realize this. He is attempting so persistently, even through the use of foreign radio broadcasts, to convince the world public that he is persecuted by obscurantists, that he is a martyr. Yet at the same time he forgets about the true martyr, if we consider, besides everything else, the great tragedy of Pushkin's life. I am surprised, for when in this situation they try to fit a fake crown of thorns to Ananyev's brow he should say: do not dare, I am tormented by a superstitious sense of guilt before genius, and I am preparing my soul to repent. But no, he admires his operetta-prop crown of thorns in the mirror servilely held up to him both here in our country and there, abroad, and would have us believe that in his "Walks With Pushkin" Sinyavskiy was expressing his love for Pushkin. But just listen to what that very same docent Andreyev said on one of the foreign radio stations. It was something like this: yes, Sinyavskiy's work "Walks With Pushkin" is an audacious effrontery, he basically spat upon Pushkin, but this work nonetheless has the right to be and should be published in full in Russia. He at least stated everything plainly and frankly, in contrast to Ananyev. What Ananyev claims is love is actually something quite the opposite. And the plenum was right in expressing its outrage at this attitude toward Pushkin on the part of OKTYABR's editor-in-chief.

V. K. Arro, head of the Leningrad writers' organization, said the following in defense of Sinyavskiy and Ananyev in a telegram to the television program "Fifth Wheel": "Note, and I emphasize this, that OKTYABR only published excerpts from 'Walks With Pushkin,' and there is nothing reprehensible in them." Well, Vladimir Konstantinovich, I can show you pages from those excerpts where it says that Pushkin was an "idler" and that "emptiness was Pushkin's content," and that Pushkin's heroes were possessed by vampirism. Yes, yes, even that! Did you really read all the way through these excerpts? Otherwise how can one comprehend your claim about reprehensibility, or about the author's attitude toward Pushkin?

But there is one quote from the excerpt which I must cite in full; it is striking, and forms the conclusion to this lampoon. "Judging by Pushkin, art clings to life through death, sin and lawlessness. Art is itself complete lawlessness, provoked by the emptiness of a house of the dead, a walking corpse."

There you have it, nothing reprehensible. I can imagine you and myself, Vladimir Konstantinovich, standing in front of the house on the Moyka in Leningrad where Pushkin tragically died and departed for eternity. We stand there shaken by such blasphemy on the part of the

lampooner, for to us this house is a Temple. A Temple! To us it never was and never will be a house of the dead, as Sinyavskiy would have us believe.

I began my musings with a quote from an article by Leonid Maksimovich Leonov, and I will close with this thought from him: "...it is time for us reverently, severely and loudly to name our never-setting guiding star, which alone is capable of inspiring our people to undertake the titanic feat of resurrecting our impoverished Fatherland, without which the apathy which grips us could gradually degenerate into intolerance, despair, spontaneous outbursts of irrationality and so on through the degrees of decline."

"The sacred and still half-forbidden name of that star has long been on everyone's minds: **Russia.**"

Moscow Jewish Film Festival Described

90UN1621A Moscow SOYUZ in Russian No 15 Apr 90
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[Article by Lev Aleynik: "Getting Acquainted with the Jewish Film Festival in Moscow"]

[Text] This festival took place thanks to the USSR Cinematographers' Union American-Soviet Film Initiative (ASK). For the first time in the last half century such a major cultural event devoted to Jewish culture is being held in our country, emphasized the festival directors Deborah Kaufman and Janice Plotkin in the program of screenings.

In the opinion of Professor Kirill Razlogov, member of the Council of Directors of the American-Soviet Film Initiative and doctor of art criticism, official recognition in the USSR of the cultural traditions universally and carefully preserved by the Jewish people was made possible only with the start of the new, as he says, "Gorbachev era." The festival submitted to our "court," in addition to Soviet and American films, films unfamiliar to us from the countries of Europe and Latin America as well as Israel. Films of various creative manners, styles, and genres by well-known cinematographers and altogether unknown ones were presented.

The orientation of each film is the humanization of the existence of all of us, regardless of our origin, skin color, or language. Obviously that was also the plan of the initiators—the well-known writer R. Ibragimbekov, president of the ASK, A. Snitov, president of the festival Council of Directors, and all who helped implement the idea.

So, let us talk about the film people remember most—"Beyond the Walls" by U. Barbash (Israel). Recognized in America as the best foreign film of the year, it shows the growing solidarity of prisoners in an Israeli prison in their struggle to acquire human dignity. In this and other

films are people with their natural desire for friendliness and for a world without extremism and with their ability to come to agreement and find things in common which everyone needs equally. The following documentary films are about the same thing: "Paths of Exile" by director Yu. Rosov (U.S.A.), which traces the Berber roots and many centuries of existence of Moroccan Jews with the Arabs in a Muslim world, and "Anu Banu—Daughters of Utopia" by E. Politi (France)—on the social experiment of regenerating dead land.

The tragedy of the extermination by the fascists of 6 million people exclusively for racist motives during World War II is fully presented. The film by the director D. Valetskiy, (U.S.A.) "The Vilnius Partisans" is about the underground resistance to fascism. "Kadish" (A Funeral Song) by director S. Brand from the United States studies how people who survived the horrors of fascism share the terrible experience with their children. "Goodbye, Children!" by the French director L. Malle is about the fate of children of various nationalities in occupied France, and "The Angry Harvest" by West German director A. Holland is about the Catholic peasants who showed personal courage and about how people come to the aid of one another.

The film "Welcome to Vienna" by director A. Korti (Austria) received extensive world recognition.

The films of this festival are not only about the past but they are about the realities of our contemporary world. The festival broke down quite a few stereotypes.

Photographs: frames from the films "Forward" and "Welcome to Vienna."

Independent Film Association Formed

90UN1621B Moscow SOYUZ in Russian No 15, Apr 90 p 18

[Interview with Andrey Vadimovich Razumovskiy, president of Independent Film Association, by Natalya Kishchik under the rubric "Topical Interview": "Independent Film Throws Down the Challenge"; time, place, and date not specified]

[Text] **Independent film—do we have it in our country or not? The question vanished as soon as the challenge was thrown down to set up the Independent Film Association, and in the first organizational conference about 100 cinematographers participated. Andrey Razumovskiy, the director who has made a number of popular films and the one who authored the idea of the association, became its president. Recently the premiere of his new film "Mordashka" took place. But in the cinematographic world he is known not only as the author of a number of films but also as the man who was one of the first to change willingly from state films to independent film.**

So what is the Independent Film Association? Why and to what purpose was it created? What will it give to cinematography? That is what our talk with Andrey Razumovskiy is about.

[Razumovskiy] We are convinced that the cinematographer has no rights vis-a-vis motion picture functionaries. We have tried to unite into cooperatives, but we soon understood that even there our rights are illusory and there are many restrictions. We cannot dispose intelligently of those things in which we have invested our talent and capital.

At first, when independent film was just being born, everyone in the cinematographic world treated us with humor and did not believe that we would survive. That is how deeply the conviction that a cinematographer could not exist outside Goskino [State Committee for Cinematography] had taken root. But when our first films appeared, they began to try to put spokes in the wheels. It is easier to fight together. Only the Association makes our position a legal one. When everyone who today makes "free" films becomes members of the Association, the talk on the periphery will be something altogether different. For anywhere in the provinces where we come to show films, the first thing we encounter is the announcement, "We won't let you show the picture until you return to Goskino and get permission from them; then you can come." And that's it! It turns out that for now we are completely without rights before the arbitrariness of the functionaries, whose esthetic "tastes" are well known.

Legality and legal rights are the first thing that the Association will give us. The second is that with its help we must obtain rights to distribute movies. Only with the Association's help will it be possible to break Goskino's monopoly on film production and film distribution. Yes, today we can make a picture, but its appearance on the screen again depends on Goskino, which has the right to give or not give distribution certification. The monopoly right to issue this certification allows it to pressure the cinematographer. We believe that there should be no distribution certification at all. Laws should operate by which a film can appear or not appear on the screen. If its authors violated laws generally accepted in the state, the film cannot be distributed, but if they did not, then only the audience has the right to decide whether the film is a good one or a poor one. We are for free competition in film distribution and we must organize our own new distribution system. In time we hope that movie theaters for independent film will appear in each city. We must set up a new USSR film market system which also joins the international market. We want to be free competitors there too.

And the third thing. We need our own production bases; without them it is difficult to speak of a standard where we will be able to enter the international markets and compete within the country with studios that are well supplied in technical terms.

And what if we are speaking of the future? The Association will provide a status for us where we can think about our own press too. We will have our own journal and our own newspaper. Negotiations are now underway on creating our own television programs. We dream of a special Independent Film Association program appearing even on Central Television. We are already prepared to arrange a film festival. I think that the first independent film festival will be held early next year.

[Kishchik] You say "our own newspaper and our own journal." But the money? The base?

[Razumovskiy] We will use cooperation. That is the charm of the Association, that it unites creative people working in the most varied spheres who have a commercial bent. There is nothing for dependents to do in independent film.

[Kishchik] Who has already announced they are joining the Association?

[Razumovskiy] The organizing conference lasted 2 days. The first day 66 organizations took part in it and the next—there were almost 100. The organizations are different. Beginning from the Cinematographers' Union, which joined the Association as a full member. The Film Fund, the Culture Fund, guilds of actors, directors, and screenplay writers and ending with individual film studios, associations, cooperatives, and cost-accounting associations—those that work outside the Goskino system and outside departmental confines.

[Kishchik] And national studios?

[Razumovskiy] There certainly are. They include the all-Union Association. Cinematographers from Georgia, Lithuania, and Moldavia are calling us now and coming. We have Kazakh, Uzbek, Tajik, Ukrainian, and Belorussian cinematographers. The studios of the Far East, the Urals, and Siberia are gravitating toward us.

[Kishchik] Is the Association already registered?

[Razumovskiy] The registration process and the opening of accounts is now underway. The organizing conference adopted the decision to create the Association and a charter has been adopted. In late May, after the cinematographers' congress, we will meet again and at that time we will ratify an Association council and executive directors.

[Kishchik] And will a new apparatus of officials appear?

[Razumovskiy] That is not the point. We foresee that 100 organizations is merely the beginning stage of the Association. Most likely it will be a powerful concern. And it seems to us that the executive directors will work in specific areas, such as distribution, production, the international area, education, and print. As you see, a great deal has been thought of and our plans are big ones. And do you know what the main obstacle will be?

[Kishchik] Registering the Association?

[Razumovskiy] Everything is in order there. The documents are being filled out. Slowly, but it is being done. The trouble is something else. We have found a large shortage of people. There are not enough genuinely business-like, creative people who want and dream of working a lot, sincerely. Everyone wants to get a lot but, unfortunately, not everyone knows how to work and earn a lot of money.

[Kishchik] I think the entire country has encountered that.

[Razumovskiy] And the cooperatives too. The idea of a short lifespan has developed in many, many of them. Why are many people still against cooperatives? Cooperative members themselves do not believe that they will be in existence for long and are beginning to spasmodically try to "chop off" what they can today. No one knows if they will exist "tomorrow."

But we want something else. We want to believe and we do believe that free film will come in earnest and for a long time. So we are aspiring to its normal development and we are seeking normal people who want to work honestly. And I also believe that if we are poor, who benefits from that? In general, everyone should live well and help one another. It is shameful that in the Soviet Union people live as they do now, that the country has been allowed to reach such a condition. But if we are rich, then the potential for real patronage of the arts will also appear. And those are not simply words. I know it by the example of my own film studio. By standing on our own feet, we have opened a children's esthetic center on the base of one of the Moscow schools where children are taught logic, rhetoric, and stage movement. We dream of making it a film lyceum later. We have great joint plans with the VGIK [All-Union State Institute of Cinematography], where two students are now studying at our expense in the workshop of Sergey Solov'yev; after they finish their studies they will work for us. We have already participated in major exhibits as sponsors.

[Kishchik] Andrey Vadimovich, how old are you?

[Razumovskiy] I turned 42 a few days ago. Why do you ask?

[Kishchik] You have already been away from Mosfilm 2 years now. I want to understand why. Did you decide to make a big change in your life? Or were you not allowed to make films and so you left for free film?

[Razumovskiy] Not so. I had already worked at Mosfilm, where many people dream of being, for many years. I had filmed my next picture and I was working and took some advantage of my position.

[Kishchik] So you had no reason to be dissatisfied with your fate?

[Razumovskiy] Why, it would be a sin for me to complain about my fate; I've always been lucky in life. Right after school I found myself with the people's artist Yefim Lvovich Dzigan, the director of the famous film "We

Are from Kronshtadt." Even during my studies at the VGIK I took my practice with Vasily Makarovich Shukshin, had a part in "Strange People," and was also the assistant. After I finished my studies I was again lucky and found myself with Alov and Naumov in the picture "The Flight." Later were such films as "Taming the Fire," "Solo for an Elephant with Orchestra," "Entertainment for Little Old Men," "Preliminary Investigation," and "What a Brutal Hockey Game." All that happened, it did. But I was the only person who himself left the staff, who voluntarily quit Mosfilm. And I set up my own business.

[Kishchik] But why?

[Razumovskiy] Most likely I have that bent. So it seems to me. By nature I am an active person. I was always involved in public affairs. I supervised the young cinematographers of Moscow for 10 years and I loved to be involved with amateur filmmakers. And all that proved to be very useful to me when we began our business.

... it was exactly a year and 10 months ago, 3 days before the Law on Cooperatives was adopted. At that time we opened the first film cooperative to produce and distribute films and called it FORA. The Cinematographers' Union supported our idea, but the Film Fund gave us its cover. We were a few people, professionals, who worked in different film studios—*imeni Gorkiy*, Mosfilm, as well as outside the Goskino system. We simply wanted to be masters of our own business. We invited economists and lawyers, developed a program, and launched it.

[Kishchik] And so, was it successful?

[Razumovskiy] FORA did not avoid the storms which other cooperatives experienced. But now that we are forming the association, all the "lessons" we got have proven useful. From our own experience we know what kind of a protection system independent film needs. The cooperative cover is too unreliable for it. Slightly more than a year has passed since we opened FORA, but on 29 December 1988, as you remember, the decree emerged where film cooperatives were equated to underground abortions and other shadowy affairs.

By that time we had already made two major films. One, about Aleksandr Galich, "Exile," is a documentary and publicist film. Many people supported us in its creation and even gave us hard currency and we were able to film certain things in France. But alongside it we did a purely commercial film. Because we understood that the film about Galich is our face, but it would not bring us money in distribution. And we had to stand on our own feet; and so the second film was a moneymaking film, the comedy "To Beautiful Women." But later the fate of other similar cooperatives befell us and we found ourselves back where we started. We were banned. The Krasnopresnenskiy Rayispolkom came to our aid, giving us the opportunity to finish filming, which prolonged the cooperative's work.

And that was not the only thing that confirmed how unreliable our creative business life was. We began to seek some other structure for the experiment. The creative center under the Mosgorispolkom invited us to organize a cost-accounting studio under them. That is how FORAFILM, a state studio, appeared.

[Kishchik] Did you manage to get rich?

[Razumovskiy] Judge for yourself. A year and 8 months ago we started from scratch, we were a few people and we had only energy and the desire to work. But now the gross turnover of the last quarter of 1989, for example, was several million rubles. We have already made nine full-length films. Generally we work like two associations of the Mosfilm studio. We are now working on seven films. We have many very interesting proposals.

Such recognized masters of Soviet cinematography as Vladimir Naumov, Sergey Solov'yev, and Valeriy Priemykhov are cooperating with us. The actors Innokentiy Smoktunovskiy, Aleksandr Pankratov-Chernyy, Aleksandr Abdulov, and Natalya Belokhovstikova appear in our films.

[Kishchik] And do you take money to the bank?

[Razumovskiy] The money we use to film can be from different sources. We get loans from Gosbank and from commercial banks which are now set up and we recruit sponsors. We can now invest our own money as well.

[Kishchik] If I understand correctly, you have no problems with capital?

[Razumovskiy] No. We have the problems common to all independent film. The most important one is the present lack of our own production base. In practice we use the bases of any of the country's film studios whose owners, of course, fleece us. Film, cameras, setup equipment, typing, sound recording, rerecording, laboratories—we rent. And there is one other problem—distribution is in a complete mess, everybody understands that. But we understand that there is no getting away from distribution. And we have set up our own distribution department. Now we have obtained American pictures which we will also distribute. International ties are also being set up at FORA. We are working with cinematographers from Australia and Italy.

To summarize: the work which we do is complex and difficult. But I must tell you that in this year and a half, despite any bans and with or without permission, we are happy people. That is really true! Although we work 24 hours a day. But we have set up our own business. We have become real masters of our fates. And if there were more stability in the laws, which there should be in our state, we would be completely happy.

And, you know, we have seen the enormous potential which is opening up in the atmosphere of free creativity. That is perhaps the most important thing that attracts creative, vigorous people to independent film.

Klimov on Conflict with New Film Distributors Association

90UN1621C Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY
in Russian No 15, 14-20 Apr 90 p 7

[Interview with E. Klimov, first secretary of the governing board of the USSR Cinematographers' Union: "We Will Allow No Monopolies"; time, place, and date not specified]

[Text] [Correspondent] Popular thrillers, erotica, horror films—that is the standard assortment which almost every video salon uses to get an audience today. Films of prominent Soviet and foreign directors do not end up in screening programs. Do not look for them in film posters either; the happy exception is festivals of filmstars or authors' retrospectives. In usual times the treasures of world film art sometimes appear on the screens of outlying district clubs and houses of culture.

Cash receipts rule the ball everywhere. But if yesterday the Cinematographers' Union could still resist that somehow, and the audience, though infrequently, could watch the best foreign and domestic films, recent events, namely the creation of the Film Distributors Association, deprive them and others of any possibility of influencing the repertory of film and video salons at all. The ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent requested that the first secretary of the governing board of the USSR Cinematographers' Union explain the situation which has been created.

[Klimov] The situation is certainly very serious, but rumors that an actual war has broken out between the Cinematographers' Union and the Film Distributors Association are somewhat exaggerated. There is no war, and I hope there will not be. A preliminary exchange of opinions has taken place—perhaps a sharp exchange but at this stage it could not be otherwise. We saw the threat of the creation of new administrative-command structures and monopolies to replace those which we have already almost managed to destroy. Judge for yourselves—the Film Distributors Association (at first there was a more open name—Association of Film Distributing Associations) is the monopoly owner of the entire state film network. They call themselves a public organization but essentially they are today's state institutions. Membership in the association is not individual but collective. What do you think, who will be represented in the leadership organs of this organization, the 270,000 member army of workers in distribution and the film circuit?

[Correspondent] It is easy to guess. Most likely, the managers?

[Klimov] Exactly! It turns out to be an association of general directors, simple directors, and other bosses. In addition, many of the personages and characters are well known to us. They "successfully" managed distribution in the years of stagnation, and we have no reason to hope that they have now abandoned administrative-command

methods. So how is it any better than the old Main Administration of Motion Picture Distribution? When they want to and conspire they can cut off the oxygen of any studio or director. We are already observing cases of deals on the film market to knock down the price of or simply refuse to buy a certain picture which in our view deserves an altogether different treatment.

[Correspondent] And you decided to torpedo the creation of the association?

[Klimov] Allow me to remind you that the initiator of the creation of a public organization of film distributors was namely the Cinematographers' Union. It is in the decision of the fifth congress. But after seeing THAT charter, THOSE founders, and THOSE prospects, we had to protest. As a result USSR Goskino and the representative of the Cinematographers' Union withdrew from the organizing committee of this organization. We are not against the creation of the association as such, but we proposed to postpone its establishment to a later time in order to develop the charter and define the goals, tasks, and methods more carefully. By that time new and very important laws on private property, leasing, taxes, and the like will have been adopted in the USSR Supreme Soviet. In general antimonopoly laws are needed.

[Correspondent] But still, explain to us, how is the fate of our pictures decided on the distribution office level?

[Klimov] The film which the studio produces is realized in a movie theater. That is the beginning and the end of a single process. And distribution is nothing but an intermediary between the studio and the movie theater and its function is a distributive one. But it is precisely for that reason that it contains the threat of a monopoly and diktat. You get this picture, and you—that one. If you behave yourself, you'll get an American thriller, and if you don't—you have only yourself to blame.

Therefore, we want movie theaters to have the freedom to maneuver and choose and be able to join cooperatives with whom they want and enter into contract relations not only with their "home" distribution office but with any other, including dealing directly with the film studio.

[Correspondent] But the new association has been born. How do you intend to deal with it in the future?

[Klimov] There is some hope that the distributors themselves are by no means unified in their positions. Among them are people who are already trying to give concrete help to Soviet film. For example, in late April a festival of "unbought" films will be held at the leisure and culture center in Podolsk where not only artistic films rejected by the state distribution system will be shown but also documentary, science fiction, and animated films.

Decisive fundamental reform of the entire motion picture distribution system is needed, and that will be one

of the main questions which the Sixth USSR Cinematographers' Union Congress will discuss.

Official Urges More Education Investment

90UN13984 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Apr 90
Second Edition p 3

[Article by V. Shukshunov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Public Education: "According to Residual Thoughtlessness"]

[Text] In economizing in education, science and culture, we are condemning ourselves to the role of an underdeveloped country. Moreover, it turns out that through this we are planning new catastrophes for ourselves. Indeed, the activity of the non-professionals is becoming for us that delayed-action mine which will lead to unpredictable changes not only in economic, but also in political and cultural life.

Many scholars still have fresh recollections of the July (1985) conference in the CPSU Central Committee on questions of scientific-technical progress. The constructive decisions taken at that time simply inspired the scholars, designers, engineers, and workers. Only 2 months after the memorable April, which gave the start to the restructuring processes in our country, the top party leadership began to talk seriously about scientific technical progress. Was this not really the acknowledgment of its new thinking in the determination of priorities?

However, as this already happened more than once in the past, other concerns came along, and the important initiative did not receive the deserved continuation. And to no purpose. We fight for the solution of problems which have arisen before the state in acute form, but the solution already exists. Science, education—here are the universal means for the construction of humane, democratic socialism.

By far not all recognize this obvious truth. Otherwise, how can one explain that all scientific-technical progress in our country was rigidly oriented to production, crudely understood as the delivery of a certain product. That the other, by no means less important aspect of the business—the guarantee of the genuinely rational use of intellectual and natural resources and the protection of the environment of man's habitation—was forgotten. No movement can be called progress if it is connected with the impoverishment of intellectual, spiritual, and natural resources, if it entails the increase of the prevalence of disease, uncomfortable living conditions of people, and other negative ecological and social consequences.

We talk a great deal about new technologies and industries, but when, finally, will we realize that, with the development of the spiritual sphere, we will not take a step forward in scientific-technical progress. Obviously, it is no accident that, during the years 1725-1900 among the members of the Russian Academy of Sciences, for every 100 mathematicians, physicists, chemists, and

astronomers, there were 110 philologists, historians, writers, and poets. In all times, even in sudden turnabouts, the parity of the humanistic and the natural and technical sciences was preserved.

But what are we encountering now? Above all, a science-seizing mechanism continues to operate. The system of production that has taken shape, which has cheap manpower and a shortage of goods, and, consequently, also a demand for absolutely everything which the enterprises produce, does not need scientists, professional specialists, it does not need basic research, it does not need science as such. A cost economy and scientific-technical progress are incompatible things. Without a radical economic reform, any, even the most perfect system of management of scientific-technical progress which we will construct, will not work.

In addition to everything else, the most absurd situation arose: Science, unified and indivisible, suddenly proved to be divided and torn to pieces: Academy (basic), VUZ (university), and industry [otraslevaya] science. This led to the loss of the integral view of science, as the object of management, and deprived the government of the possibility of forming a unified scientific-technical and investment policy, which frequently did not correspond to the realistically existing intellectual potential of the sectors. A defect developed in the structure of science—applied research developed to the detriment of basic research. And if Academy science, although also according to the residual principle, but nevertheless was provided for, literally crumbs were served to VUZ science.

The neglect of the possibilities of the scientific potential of VUZ science is turning into great losses for our country. You see, it is precisely the VUZ sector of science which today constitutes the basic reserve for the development of scientific-technical progress. In it are concentrated specialists of the highest qualification of practically all spheres of science and technology, scientific schools of union and world level. And the most important merit of this reserve is the reproduction of ever new generations of specialists.

It is time to understand that the funds invested in VUZ science and education turn not only into new scientific discoveries, inventions, technologies and materials, but they will also serve the renewal and increase of the intellectual potential of our society. The time insistently demands to return to the higher educational institutions big science, without which they are simply educational, but not higher institutions, simply schools, but not higher schools.

At present the situation is such that the share of VUZ science in the funds being allocated for scientific research work in the country comes to 2.5 percent. The gap in the financing between the VUZ and the other sectors of science has increased still more in three years, but the allotment of capital investments to the scientific organizations of the VUZ's, that is science in the VUZ's

without flesh is brains on a plate. For the fulfillment of the tasks of the MNTK [M (not further identified) Scientific-Technical Committee], the VUZ's receive allocations which are 4.3 times smaller than the scientific institutions of the Academy of Sciences, for state scientific-technical programs—2.2 times smaller.

What is the matter? Perhaps the academicians and corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the 50 percent of the doctors and candidates of science who work in the higher school are less talented, less efficient, second-rate? Hardly, you see there are more discoveries made in the VUZ's than in industry science and we receive no fewer prizes of the highest level. I think the reason lies in the defect of state policy, in the inability to use the intellectual potential of the VUZ.

The last example: In 1989, about 180 VUZ organizations, on a competitive basis, received the right to carry out 329 tasks of 13 programs of the USSR Academy of Sciences, but the departments of USSR Academy of Sciences refused to finance this work and proposed that this be done by us, the USSR State Committee for Public Education and the republic organs for the administration of the higher school. There turns out to be a paradox: Some people order the music, but others must pay for this. Where is the logic here?

We demand the parity of all sectors of science, parity in financing, in the outfitting with scientific equipment, and in capital construction. Yes, without science there is no new knowledge, without designers there are no new machines, but without education there is neither the first nor the second.

The propelling agent of any progress is man. If he will feel himself to be at the height of his position (and this is our task), he will set himself the most difficult and large-scale tasks, as a researcher and creator. Convinced that it is necessary to re-create in science and education a consistent system of the selection and cultivation of talents and the creation of a scientific elite. We must not be afraid of this word: The "scientific elite" is our "gold reserve," the future of the country, which is now essentially vegetating. Yes, the increase of intellectual potential is attained through large investment of funds, but if we want to maintain the reputation of a great power, it is precisely in education and the training of a scientific elite that we must invest resources.

But what now? How we treat a great value—young scientists, in what position talented people find themselves at times: For dozens of years they receive miserable wages, life in straitened circumstances, and then even in their private quarters are engaged in routine work.

The entire developed world today is going from "an economy of things" to "an economy of knowledge", the scientific-technical revolution is being replaced by an intellectual revolution, but we are beginning to become

degraded. For example, in terms of the level of inventions, we have slipped from 4th to almost 50th place in the world and we have more than 90 percent of products that are not competitive in the world market.

The intellectualization of the socio-economic development of the country must become the subject of special concern of the state as the necessary condition for the dynamic development of our entire society. For this are required, above all, outstripping investments of funds in the educational sphere. And one need not expect that the increase of financing will have an immediate effect on the improvement of the state of affairs in public education, science and culture. It is not necessary to stand behind the back of the researcher with an account book for the extra charge of the quarterly tax. We are dealing not with an illuminating light bulb—a press on the switch, it starts burning, and the meter begins to turn.

It is necessary to realize that the way out of the crisis that has developed cannot be instantaneous. The unstimulated economy, society's failure to call for knowledge and professionalism, and the disdainful treatment of the intelligentsia during the course of many years have given rise to deep intellectual apathy. We not only were able to destroy the peasant nature [raskrestyanit] the peasants, but we also undid the learning [raznauchit] of many scientists and engineers.

For this reason, the question now is not only the increase of the financing of science. The formation, in society, in the government, and in the central economic organs, of a consensus on the priority of the intellect, science and education must become the chief task now; the development of new approaches to the organization, planning, administration, and financing of basic research, which were formulated several decades ago.

In my view, we must resolutely repudiate the total planning and excessive regulation of basic and exploratory [poiskovyye] research, the excessive enlargement of the basic subjects, free scientists from administrative pressing and detailed control of the exploration process. Grant them real freedom of creativity, the right to the expansion of resources in science.

I am convinced that they will be able to deal with such independence, if we introduce the system of original "rating", based on the results, works, citation indices, the quantitative and qualitative staff of scientists, on the assessments of colleagues, etc. And we do not have to be afraid of monopolism. If this is the monopolism of Landau, Kapitsa, Rutherford, and Born—at such monopolism in science one can only rejoice and support it with all means on a priority basis.

The enumerated problems are key problems, and we need a clear-cut program for their solution. Without this, we will not create either a scientific, nor an intellectual forerun [zadel] for the future.

Our essential shortcoming is the mechanical utilization of the economic mechanisms and schemes of the production sphere in the activity of scientific collectives. For example, the principles of *khovraschet* adopted by scientific institutions and VUZ's from enterprises have led to the increase of the wages of scientists in pursuit of momentary results, and consequently, to the deviation from basic, integrated research.

In the VUZ's and scientific institutions, the spirit of asceticism, devotion to science, and the aspiration to scientific truth is observed as being appreciably weaker. A corrosion of the fine traditions of the science of our country, in the temple of science the demon of commerce is increasingly dominant.

A rich country we have never been, but now we begin to feel both our intellectual poverty and, what is most alarming, the most serious test awaits us, which is connected with the brain "drain" from the country.

If, for example, scientists leave the United States or England, at the same time there is a large number of specialists from other countries who are rushing there, i. e., there is a rotation of scientific cadres. Moreover, they constantly enrich their intellectual baggage from among the large number of students from all continents studying in their universities. Our country in this respect is a peculiar semi-conductor: The brain flow will go (it already goes) in one direction—abroad. There will practically be no influx to us. Because of the wretchedness of the educational and social base of even our best VUZ's, students from poorly developed countries already now do not want to go to our country to study. And who among the self-respecting Western scientists wants to work on equipment, which, figuratively speaking, can be compared to the antediluvian wooden plough?

The intellectual impoverishment that awaits us if we do not take extraordinary, effective measures can call in question the existence of our society as an equal member of the civilized world.

Among such very important measures must be the formation of a new intellectual policy of the country (no less significant than the economic reform) and a state program for the mobilization of the intellectual reserves of scientific-technical progress.

What do we need? Above all, legal guarantees of the recognition of the priority nature of education and science, the reflection of this priority in the plans and in the budget for the 18th Five-Year Plan. The adoption in line with the USSR laws on property, land, and leasing, of a law on science and public education.

We need for the voices of scientists, educators, and cultural figures—competent people—to be heard.

It has come to be accepted to say that all the troubles of education (and VUZ science) result from the fact that financing them proceeds in accordance with the residual

principle. I think otherwise: They result from our residual inability to think things through.

Kuybyshev Instructor on Literacy Deficiencies

90UN16304 Moscow UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian Apr 90 p 1

[Article by V. Nemtsev, candidate of philological sciences, senior instructor, Kuybyshev Pedagogical Institute: "Why Record One's Thoughts?"]

[Text] People are talking about the fact that someone in the British Parliament recently raised the question of the falling literacy rate among the Britons. The lords, sirs, and even the clerks write personal messages and official papers with an abundance of errors.

When I learned about this, I thought to myself, "Well, what about us?"

From my work experience at the selection commission at Kuybyshev Pedagogical Institute I know that one-third of the applicants who are graduating from secondary schools and are matriculating into the departments specializing in the humanities have been getting grades of "two" [out of five grades—"unsatisfactory"] in composition. If the competition to come to our institute had been low, I doubt that all those twos would have been given.

It turns out that in our country also the situation with regard to literacy is bad. A young engineer is unable to write a literate application for a job. An investigator prepares an illiterate report. A doctor cannot explain to a patient in intelligible language the causes of his disease. The impartial television screen has already shown repeatedly the great difficulty with which the deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet perceive the texts of legislative bills. What kind of laws are these, the meaning of which is impossible to figure out, and what kind of jurists are these, who cannot write a well-constructed sentence? "Execute impossible pardon." A fateful verdict with a missing comma, and so, according to tradition, an innocent person died.

Neither the curriculum in the higher educational school system nor the one in the secondary school system provides for the consistent development of writing skills. Even with good language instructors, the students do not write more than a dozen compositions a year—certainly that is not enough. And so it has developed in our school system that the literature lessons have been called upon basically to feed the students the "correct" information about the classic works. Getting good grades in literature means knowing a definite amount of information from the history of culture and belles lettres. Why is it, then, that even the best graduates of the secondary schools are not really so confident when taking entrance examinations at an institution of higher learning that specializes in the humanities? Their minds, that have been enslaved by solid knowledge, do not always produce a favorable impression on the examiner.

Obviously the crux of the matter is definitely not the information that is obtained in the school system. The young soul is fettered not by the abundance of knowledge, but by the lack of any esthetic practice in making use of that abundance. I am convinced that the ability to be unfettered is developed only with the aid of writing skills. But is it often that we see our students, with pen in hand, collecting their thoughts over a blank piece of paper? Do they often entrust their innermost feelings to it?

We know that the great people of the past century kept diaries. This is an extremely meaningful circumstance, because the diaries developed the classic authors of Russian literature: one need only remember Pushkin, Tolstoy, Dostoyevskiy, their outstanding contemporaries...

I am convinced that the habit of recording one's thought must be natural for a student at any institution of higher learning. It gives the student the unique ability to sense his intellectual freedom, to explain to himself the reasons for his acts by which those around him will judge him. The ability to express one's thought easily on paper must become a prerequisite for general education, and especially for philological education. A philologist who does not know how to write cannot evaluate deeply what has been written by others. He will reduce his proficiency to simply being able to borrow other people's opinions. In the chronic shortage of well-written books of literary criticism I see the reason why our schoolchildren are indifferent to the classics. At the philology departments of pedagogical institutions and of universities it is necessary to have a mandatory special seminar on the epistolary genres—if only within the framework of the literary theory course. The students are required to assimilate all the minor genres—from a letter (a friendly message, as people used to say in antiquity) to an essay.

In passing I might mention that the ancient Greeks differentiated 21 types of epistolary creativity. A letter could be "friendly," "recommending," "reproachful," "admonishing," "allegorical," "disapproving," etc. Moreover, the "disapproving" letter differed, on the one hand, from the "abusive," and, on the other, from the "reproachful"...

Isn't it obvious that an idea that has not been given any literary formulation loses its significance and is forgotten? It seems to me that the students at pedagogical institutions must be taught how to comprehend literature from within. Then they will give more to children.

It is no secret that language teachers are frequently quite condescending to the technically oriented schoolchildren, especially those in the graduating classes. But, in my opinion, their doing this is useless.

At the leading technical educational institutions throughout the world, it has already been determined long ago what differentiates a future run-of-the-mill engineer from a future creative individual. Both of them are constantly stopped in their movement toward a

particular goal by the innovative nature of the situation. Whoever interprets and formulates that new feature will move on ahead. The specialist who is capable of assimilating the innovation more quickly and more accurately is the one who has an active imagination. Without that quality, the creative personality will not occur. Imagination is developed with the aid of art, and, to no small degree, by mastering the varied written forms of creativity.

Let us recall more frequently that "In the beginning was the Word..."

I. Nemtsev

Commentary on Education Improvement Draft Decree

90UN15104 Moscow PRAVITELSTVENNY
VESTNIK in Russian No 15, Apr 90 p 1

[Commentary by A.I. Vladimirov, first deputy manager of the USSR Council of Ministers department of culture and public education]

[Text] A draft resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers, the VTsSPS [All Union Central Council of Trade Unions], and the Komsomol Central Committee "On supplemental measures for the improvement of the material-living conditions of students of higher educational institutions and matriculants in secondary specialized educational institutions" has been considered and approved in the government of the country. A.I. Vladimirov, first deputy manager of the USSR Council of Ministers department of culture and public education comments upon this document.

At present, youth studying receives assistance primarily through the system of stipend provision, the main source of which are budget allocations. And only 8.2 percent of students and matriculants receive stipends at the expense of enterprise funds. The amounts of the basic stipends in effect (R40 per month in a VUZ and R30 in a technical school) were established in 1971, and have practically not been reconsidered since. Only the size of the increments for progress have changed. As you know, the amount of the stipend is increased by 50 percent for excellent study, and by 25 percent for good study.

Two decades ago, the minimum amount of stipend for VUZ students was approximately one-third the average salary of workers and employees. Today, this correlation has been lowered to 17 percent. Moreover, only 76 percent of students and matriculants of day divisions of VUZs and technical schools are provided with a stipend, and practically one out of every four receives the minimum, yet more than one million successful students and matriculants do not have the state's constant material support.

That is why life has persistently demanded that the creation of the necessary social conditions for student youth be accelerated. According to the decision adopted, it is stipulated that even this year all successful VUZ

students and technical school matriculants be provided with a stipend, and its base level will be increased by half starting September 1991. And it is necessary to note that the existing stipend differential dependent upon year of study and specialty is being abolished. A single amount is being introduced—R60 per month in VUZs and R45 per month in technical schools.

At the same time, the previously established, higher stipends for VUZ students training in specialties in mathematics, nuclear power engineering, as well as in individual VUZs (such as Moscow State Technical University imeni N.E. Bauman, the Obninsk Institute of Nuclear Power Engineering, and a number of others). The currently effective stipend amounts for orphans and children of Heroes of the Soviet Union and Heroes of Socialist Labor are being maintained.

What will the raise in stipends give to student youth? The average stipend amounts in VUZs will grow from R61 to R74 per month, and in technical schools, from R43 to R56.

In addition, the draft stipulated the development of new forms of material provision of students and matriculants. In particular, it is recognized as advisable to create in higher and secondary specialized educational institutions social assistance funds for very needy students and matriculants for special food prices and rendering material assistance to those who have children. This fund will be formed by savings in the educational institution stipend fund and from resources received from other (non-budgetary) sources.

For the purpose of increasing the standard of living of student and matriculant families and the creation of more favorable conditions for combining study and child-rearing for women who have children and are studying in higher and secondary specialized educational institutions with an interruption in production, the right to receive a stipend in the full amount, as well as allowances during a period of partial-pay child care leave, are maintained.

The USSR savings bank will now grant students of higher educational institutions studying with an interruption in production credit worth up to R2,000 for a term of up to 10 years with repayment beginning with the first year of work upon graduation from the educational institution and payments of 3 percent annually. These credits can be granted to family students starting with their third year of study upon the petition of the dean's office and public organizations.

Of course, many are disturbed by the question, where will the resources be found for raising stipends? After all, approximately R1.6 billion is required for this annually. As you can see, this is no insignificant sum.

In accordance with the USSR Council of Ministers order, USSR Gosplan, USSR Ministry of Finance, and the USSR State Committee for Labor have determined the sources for financing the supplemental expenditures. They

stipulate that covering the indicated expenses will be done by the ministries and departments having educational institutions, by enterprises and organizations through expanding contractual forms of specialist training, and by saving resources as the result of the measures planned by State Education for improving the activity of higher and secondary specialized educational institutions and budget allocations. Gosbyudzhets resources have already been considered in the calculations of the state's expenditures for centralized measures for raising the people's standard of living in the 13th 5-year-plan, and supplemental allocations will not be required.

RSFSR Education Minister on National Language Training

90UN1510B Moscow UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian No 16, Apr 90 p 4

[Article by G. Veselov, RSFSR minister of public education: "Figures of Losses, Figures of Hopes"]

[Text] The national issue is truly a "Gordian knot." How many times in history have they tried to break through it! Yet it frequently turned out that they chopped off the branch they had been sitting on. And today's extremist attempts to "cut while breathing" only multiply on the map of the country the hotbeds of exacerbation of interethnic relations.

Where is the exit? Is there one? In my view, a sensible alternative is expounded in the CPSU Central Committee Draft Platform for the 28th Party Congress. Its roots are in the primacy of common human values.

How long will such careless, even barbarian exploitation of the wealth of enormous regions of Siberia, the North, and the Far East undermine the tenor of life of the peoples who inhabit these territories since ancient times? Many indigenous peoples residing in the RSFSR are forgetting their native language, and neither speak nor read it.

But it is not too late. The most numerically small peoples have the opportunity to preserve their culture, language, image and character formed over centuries. We speak, of course, of the national educational institutions, beginning with kindergarten.

A great deal has already been done. In the Russian Federation (and I remind you that it comprises 16 ASSRs, 5 autonomous oblasts, and 10 okrugs) a broad network of such institutions has been created and is functioning. Let us say, that in recent years, the number of non-Russian schools of various types has been expanded from 10,346 to 11,573. Special groups for the study of native language and literature are being formed in schools with multi-national composition. In the last 5 years alone, 12 alphabets have been created for peoples who had not had a written language.

Local public education organs have gotten the opportunity to develop, on the basis of standard plans, various

academic plans and programs. For example, in the Kabardino-Balkar, Tatar, and Chuvash autonomous republics, a new school course, "Culture, Literature, and the History of the Native Area" has been introduced this year.

Changes that take into consideration the features of the national culture of every people are being introduced in courses on the fine arts and music. An experiment has begun on the intensive study of certain subjects in the humanities discipline (folk pedagogy and psychology, ethnography, culture of the native speech, national applied art) in the national schools of the Mari, Chuvash, North Ossetian, and Kabardino-Balkar autonomous republics, and the Chukchi and Evenk autonomous okrugs. History and geography textbooks on the native territory are being revised.

Over the last 5 years, our ministry, in conjunction with RSFSR Goskornizdat [State Committee for Publishing], and 21 local publishing houses of the autonomous republics put out over 600 titles of instructional books in native languages and Russian for students of the 1st through 11th grades with a total press run of over 10 million copies. Dictionaries, methodology resources, and textbooks in native languages are being published in 18 languages for schools in the North. The Scientific Research Institute of RSFSR National Schools, its branches and laboratories are making a serious contribution to this important work.

We understand that success depends first and foremost upon the teacher. Today, native-language teachers for non-Russian schools are being trained in almost 30 pedagogical institutes and 17 colleges (for comparison: 10 years ago, there were half as many such institutes and colleges). In the current academic year, teacher training in the Bashkir, Tuva, and Mari languages is being expanded. Academic programs and plans are being reexamined, with consideration for the cultural-national tenor of this or that people; divisions for the study of national applied art have been opened. In the Dagestan and Kazan pedagogical VUZs, for the first time, prospective high school graduates have been given the opportunity to take their entrance examinations in the native language.

But however glowing these figures are, the figures of our losses make no less an impression. According to the data of sociologists who have conducted selective studies in the capitals of the autonomous republics, approximately 40 percent of youth either does not know its native language at all, or has a poor mastery of it. There are many reasons for this. We will only say that over the course of many years, the national language and literature simply have not been studied in city and village schools.

What is it holding back enlightenment today, while the rapid growth of national self-awareness is highlighting these and other shortcomings and miscalculations? Again, there are more than a few causes here. Chief

among them is our lack of preparedness for rapid steps. And now, as previously, the specialists cite the "poor circumstances." Many native languages have been studied in insufficient depth from the linguistic point of view. The USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Linguistics, local scientific research institutes of history, language, and economy are slowly improving the alphabets and orthographies, researching stylistics, and the textual stylistics of native languages. The schools are not getting the needed help from the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences in the development of the theoretical problems of teaching native languages and literatures, and an integrated concept of the formation and development of national-Russian and Russian-national bilingualism...

In connection with this, our ministry has developed (on the basis of proposals from the local organs of public education, higher and secondary pedagogical educational institutions, and scientific research institutes) a 5-year program, "National educational institutions of the RSFSR." It specifies the creation of the necessary conditions for the study of the language of the autonomous republic, oblast, and okrug by representatives of other nationalities residing in the territory. The program is called upon to ensure the formation of a new level of national-social awareness and the culture of interethnic relations, and to impart to children the history of their people, its national and cultural values, and unique forms of creative work.

Of course, the number of national kindergartens, schools, and PTUs [professional-technical colleges] is increasing. And, as a rule, they will be built according to plans that take into consideration the features of the regions, the national composition of the students, etc.

Their scientific-methodological provision is based upon the concepts of the harmonious development of national-Russian and Russian-national bilingualism and uninterrupted education in native languages (from kindergarten until VUZ). The content, methods, and resources for training in languages of the autonomous units is being developed for the representatives of the non-native nationalities.

We will concern ourselves with strengthening the material base of the national educational institutions (an increase in the delivery to autonomous unit educational institutions of modern teaching resources is specified—video and reproduction equipment, computer equipment, apparatus and various types of equipment).

A new type of institution, the "School—Kindergarten," will receive further development; in certain small settlements, low-capacity schools and PTUs will be opened. In the regions where the people of the North live, schools are being opened on a cross-over basis with reindeer-herding and fishing brigades, and hunting artels.

Such are the basic features of our program. Of course, this is not dogma; corrections are possible. We have

therefore decided against citing any planned figures. It is not a matter of figures. We need today genuine assistance for the local organs.

We are hoping for the support of the USSR Council of Ministers; it can help us find the paper and printing facilities to issue academic and belletristic literature in all the languages of the peoples of Russia.

Fresh, young scientific forces are needed in order to move forward. Early last year, we requested that the USSR Council of Ministers create a Division of Siberia, the Far East, and the North within the USSR Academy of Pedagogical sciences. Such a decision was adopted, to our satisfaction. And this will greatly assist all autonomous units in the qualitative development of education.

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